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HORACE IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE (1498-1600)

BY

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims to study the reception of the Latin poet Horace in the Italian Renaissance, taking into consideration works composed in several different genres both in Latin and Italian vernacular between 1498 and 1600. This thesis follows five main pathways of investigation: 1) to study the Renaissance biographies of the poet; 2) to analyse several exegetical works both in Horace's single texts and his whole corpus; 3) to study the Italian translations written both in prose and verse which were made during the Cinquecento; 4) to study in depth those who imitated Horace in their lyrical and satirical poems composed in Italian; and 5) to examine those Neo-Latin poetical works (mainly pertaining to the lyrical and satirical genres). This dissertation points out that the numerous and various forms of Horatian reception help to evaluate the real flourishing of sixteenth-century interest in the Latin poet, interest that reflects the fact that Horace was part of the new Renaissance canon of classical authorities. Within the sixteenth-century conflict of cultures, Horace appears as one of the main protagonists of the critical and literary scenes, as is shown by the attention that his works received from the point of view of editions, commentaries, and translations respectively, as well as by the fact that his texts were placed at the centre of several literary imitative practices, his example being able to offer the Renaissance one important basis upon which to found part of its new culture. Indeed, Horace allowed the emergence of an ethical strain to the Renaissance lyric, as well as contributing to the provision of rules for sixteenth-century literary criticism.

ABBREVIATIONS

Horace's works are referred to by the titles listed in the first volume of *Enciclopedia Oraziana*, ed. by Scevola Mariotti (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 1996-1998). Except in the appendix, where Latin names are used throughout, the names of Renaissance authors are given in currently familiar forms: hence 'Badius Ascensius' for 'Josse Bade van Asche', but 'Cristoforo Landino' instead of 'Christophorus Landinus'. Abbreviations have been silently expanded. Unless otherwise stated, all translations from Latin are mine.

WORKS BY HORACE

<i>Ars P.</i>	<i>Ars Poetica</i>
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i> or <i>Odes</i>
<i>Carm. saec.</i>	<i>Carmen saeculare</i>
<i>Epod.</i>	<i>Epodon Liber</i> or <i>Iambi</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satirae</i> or <i>Sermones</i>

JOURNALS, SERIES AND ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

<i>ASI</i>	<i>Archivio storico italiano</i>
<i>BENLW</i>	<i>Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World</i>
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance</i>
<i>CL</i>	<i>Critica letteraria</i>
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i>
<i>EO</i>	<i>Enciclopedia Oraziana</i>
<i>FC</i>	<i>Filologia e critica</i>
<i>GIF</i>	<i>Giornale italiano di filologia</i>
<i>GSLI</i>	<i>Giornale storico della letteratura italiana</i>
<i>HL</i>	<i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i>
<i>IMU</i>	<i>Italia medioevale e umanistica</i>
<i>IS</i>	<i>Italian Studies</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>RLI</i>	<i>Rivista di letteratura italiana</i>
<i>RPL</i>	<i>Res Publica Litterarum</i>

<i>RQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
<i>RS</i>	<i>Renaissance Studies</i>
<i>SFI</i>	<i>Studi di Filologia Italiana</i>
<i>SLI</i>	<i>Studi di letteratura italiana</i>
<i>SPCT</i>	<i>Studi e problemi di critica testuale</i>

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

CURCIO	Gaetano Curcio, <i>Quinto Orazio Flacco studiato in Italia dal secolo XIII al XVIII</i>
IURILLI	Antonio Iurilli, <i>Orazio nella letteratura italiana</i>
OLI	<i>Orazio e la letteratura italiana</i>
OLM	<i>Orazio nella letteratura mondiale</i>
PCL	<i>Postera crescam laude: Orazio nell'età moderna</i>

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation aims to study the reception of the Latin poet Horace in sixteenth-century Italy. The working hypothesis on which this research is based is that Horace's influence in the Italian Renaissance is worth studying both in its own right and because it has indissoluble links with the literary history of the Cinquecento and the phenomenon of the sixteenth-century re-appropriation of the classics. Moreover, Horace offers a useful and almost unique way of studying crossovers between Latin and Italian vernacular, since he was taken as a model by those who wrote their works in both languages. Finally, Horace's reception deserves a detailed study because it reflects some important aspects of intersections between literary and exegetical practices, as well as various aspects of Renaissance poetical theory and practice.

A question pertinent to every classical author is what became of their texts beyond their original contexts: how were they received, and how were their poems or prose works employed and reutilized? The reception of Horace represents an especially complex and multifarious case. The study of his *fortuna* has developed since the beginning of the twentieth century,¹ through works that have focused on different time periods and geographical areas. The first analysis devoted to the reception of the Latin poet in the Italian Peninsula was Gaetano Curcio's monumental study, first published in 1913, which investigated Horace's influence

¹ See Eduard Stemplinger, *Das Fortleben der horazischen Lyrik seit der Renaissance* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906).

across a long timespan from the age of Petrarch to the Enlightenment.² Curcio mainly focused on how and why Horace's works became famous in different periods, how this reputation was perceived and changed over time, and how Horace's texts found an echo in those of the modern authors. Curcio's erudite and in-depth study paved the way for all future works in the field. In the following decade some scholars applied his example and methods to new critical investigations,³ but it was mainly in the 1930s that deeper analyses devoted to the *fortuna* of the Latin poet were conducted within the field of Horatian studies that flourished in that decade, mainly due to the celebrations of the second millenary of Horace's birth, which fell in 1936.⁴ Scholars generally followed Curcio's approach and focused their works on a single geographical area (usually a country) and enlarged his chronological range by analysing the importance that Horace had for the poets and prose writers of that area from the Middle Ages to the early twentieth century.⁵ However, works that focused on shorter timespans, considering, for instance, Horace's role in the Renaissance, were composed as well, such as Raymond Lebègue's long essay on Horace in Renaissance France,⁶ or Jean Marmier's book, entitled *Horace en France au dix-septième siècle*.⁷ Until the 1960s, other investigations conducted on Horace's presence in various national literatures generally expanded and further examined the

² See CURCIO.

³ See, for instance, Eduard Stemplinger, *Horaz im Urteil der Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig: Dieterichsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1921).

⁴ For a general overview of the many initiatives that took place all over Europe and the United States see Mariella Cagnetta, 'Bimillenario della nascita', in *EO*, III, 615-40.

⁵ The series of studies included in the volume *Orazio nella letteratura mondiale (OLM)*, collecting the papers presented in Rome at the homonymous conference, are the main example of this tendency. In this volume Horace's influence had been studied in regards of the United States, Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sweden, and Hungary.

⁶ Raymond Lebègue, 'Horace en France pendant la Renaissance', *BHR*, 3 (1936), 141-64, 289-308, and 384-419.

⁷ Jean Marmier, *Horace en France au dix-septième siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962).

results of the first surveys,⁸ but methodologically these always centred on the primary role and impact of the Latin author and his texts in various periods, rather than studying how recipients interpreted and approached the classical works. Against the common perspective, since the early-1970s scholars have stressed the discrepancies and dynamism involved in processes of textual reception. Of especial note here is the work of the German scholar Hans Robert Jauss, who stressed the importance of readers in the process of reception, since their perceptions, closely influenced by their own cultural and social backgrounds, actively conditioned the ways they perceived and could interpret a previous text.⁹

Though the active role of the reader and the conditions under which interaction with texts occurs is a central tenet of my dissertation, this study does not accept fully Jauss's emphasis upon the conformity of reading practices in a specific period and, above all, the limited attention he pays both to the legacy of tradition and to other forms of interplay between recipients and texts. As the history of reading and textual criticism have shown,¹⁰ and other disciplines such as classical reception and Dante Studies have confirmed,¹¹ there is a much larger web of influences that contribute to

⁸ See Charles Riba's analysis in his 'Orazio nelle letterature iberiche' (in *OLM*, pp. 189-218), expanded by Marcelino Mendéz Pelayo, *Bibliografía hispano-latina clásica*, 10 vols (Santander: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1951), IV-VI; and Leon Sternbach's 'Orazio nella letteratura polacca' (in *OLM*, pp. 153-65) was expanded by Czesław Miłosz, *The history of Polish literature* (New York-London: The Macmillan Company-Collier Macmillan, 1969). A boarder trans-national perspective is applied in Grant Showermann, *Horace and His Influence* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1963).

⁹ Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. by Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982). See also, for a summary of these theories, Lorna Hardwick, 'From the Classical Tradition to Reception Studies', in Id., *Reception Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 1-11.

¹⁰ See Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Century*, trans. Lydia F. Cochrane (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); and Robert Hume, *Reconstructing Contexts: The Aims and Principles of Archeo-Historicism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹¹ See, for instance, Charles Martindale, *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Simon Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

moulding the various forms of reception of an author than that hypothesized by Jauss. Charles Martindale makes this very argument out in his book *Redeeming the Text: Latin Poetry and the Hermeneutics of Reception*, and demonstrates his point with regard to the context of Horatian reception both in an essay devoted to Ben Jonson's Horace and in the general perspective of the volume he co-edited with David Hopkins in 1993, eloquently entitled *Horace Made New*.¹² In these works he carefully links the history of Horace's reception to a vast range of exegetical frameworks and filters through which recipients came into contact with the Latin poet's texts, life, and fame in different ages. Furthermore, he gives close attention to 'how earlier critical vocabulary and paradigms are transmitted and re-used across generations'.¹³ The interplays and refractions of these elements and traits are studied with further and more in-depth analytical perspicacity in those essays included in the volume *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, edited by Martindale and Richard Thomas in 2006.¹⁴

The present thesis situates itself in the footsteps of Martindale's approach to reception studies, by combining it with the concept of 'democratic turn' as has been applied to classical reception by Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray in the introduction to their edited volume *A Companion to Classical Reception* (2008).¹⁵ By 'democratic turn' they refer to the critical approach that mainly aims: 1) to overthrow

¹² *Horace Made New: Horatian Influences on British Writing from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Charles Martindale and David Hopkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Charles Martindale, 'The best master of virtue and wisdom: the Horace of Ben Jonson and his heirs', in *Horace Made New*, pp. 50-85.

¹³ Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, p. 7.

¹⁴ *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, ed. by Charles Martindale and Richard Thomas (Malden: Blackwell, 2006). In the volume many different aspect of reception are analysed. With regard to Horace's reception, Richard Thomas takes the nineteenth-century re-uses of the Horatian figure of Ligurinus as case study of his analysis (Richard Thomas, 'Looking for Ligurinus. An Italian Poet in the Nineteenth Century', in *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, pp. 153-67).

¹⁵ *A Companion to Classical Reception*, ed. by Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray (Malden-Oxford: Blackwell, 2008).

the idea of superiority of ancient works over new ones; 2) to stress the importance of the 'independent status and value of new works' instead of mainly perceiving them as texts in which the reception of the previous works took place; 3) to consider that the 'activators of receptions' are many and varied; 4) to pay attention to the dialogical relationship existing between reception and the analysis of the ancient texts; and 5) to include 'popular culture' in 'the range of art forms and discourses that used or refigured classical material'.¹⁶ However, one caveat is in order. Without neglecting the importance of the last point in those studies dealing, for instance, with theatrical studies, this thesis is more directly concerned with uses (and re-uses) of Horace in the so-called 'high' and 'middle' cultures, those of humanists and Renaissance men of letters, and of vernacular readership, respectively; reasons of space have led to a concentration on these aspects rather than the broader and less homogeneous area of popular culture.

In a general perspective, my work, which aims to study the reception of Horace in sixteenth-century Italy, shares the methodological approaches and the critical frameworks of the seminal studies of Martindale and Hardwick. However, since my dissertation is not simply focused on a single piece of work or genre, but on a multifaced and dishomogeneous corpus, it also needed other approaches that go beyond any precise theoretical framework. Indeed, along with the reception studies framework, I sometimes applied other approaches derived from disciplines, such as history of the book, history of language, and history of literature.

The purpose of my work is not so much to offer a comprehensive literary history of all the works modulating Horatian features, nor to provide an exhaustive survey of

¹⁶ Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray, 'Introduction: Making Connections', in *A Companion to Classical Reception*, pp. 1-9 (pp. 3-4).

authors that received the texts of the Latin poet. Rather, the driving concern is to understand how Horace was studied and what readers across Italy thought about him and his works, what humanists and Renaissance *literati* believed about him, and how and why they modelled their texts on those of Horace. In order to try to find adequate answers to these questions, while at the same time presenting a broader vision of developments, my investigation offers an overview of the Horatian tradition in Italy. In this sense, this dissertation takes a different approach from that of scholars who have dealt with the topic from the perspective of either Italian Studies or Classics. Although many works have been devoted in the last three decades to analysing various forms of Horace's reception in Italy, these have either been conducted on a single-author basis,¹⁷ or have focused on small geographical areas, such as cities or regions.¹⁸ Those investigations concerning Horace's reception on a country-scale perspective have generally been devoted to countries other than Italy.¹⁹ At the same time, those analyses that exclusively considered Horace's *fortuna* in the whole Italian Peninsula have either placed the reception in Italy within a large-scale examination, devoted to (mostly western) Europe as a whole,²⁰ or have covered a

¹⁷ See for example Ugo Dotti, 'Orazio e Petrarca', in *OLI*, pp. 11-28; Rosanna Alhaique Pettinelli, 'Orazio e Ariosto', in *OLI*, pp. 89-110; Silvia Zoppi, 'Orazio e Campanella', in *OLI*, pp. 221-40; as well as many others essays included in *OLI*, and all the entries in the sections 14 (*La fortuna nell'Antichità*) and 15 (*Fortuna dal medioevo all'età contemporanea*) of the third volume of *EO*, 5-524.

¹⁸ See, for instance, Francesco Tateo, 'Orazio nell'umanesimo napoletano', in *OLI*, pp. 41-52.

¹⁹ See all the essays included in the section 16 (*Orazio nei vari paesi*), in *EO*, 525-612, the essay are respectively devoted to Horace in South America, Armenia, Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic and Slovakia, Denmark and Norway, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and United States.

²⁰ See, for example, Karsten Friis-Jense, 'The Reception of Horace in the Middle Ages', in *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, ed. by Stephen Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 291-304; Michael J. McGann, 'The Reception of Horace in the Renaissance', in *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, pp. 305-17; David Money, 'The Reception of Horace in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, pp. 318-33; Lowell Edmunds, 'The Reception of Horace's Odes', in *A Companion to Horace*, ed. by Gregson Davis (Malden-Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 337-66; Susanna Braund, 'The Metempsychosis of

very long timespan. Tateo and Scivoletto's essay 'Italia' in the *Enciclopedia Oraziana* and Iurilli's volume belong to this second category. The former encompasses eight centuries (from the thirteenth to the twentieth century),²¹ whereas the latter, concerning Italian commentators, translators and editors of Horace, embraces nearly three hundred and fifty years (from the mid-Quattrocento to the end of the eighteenth century).²² This dissertation thus represents the first extended attempt to examine Horace's reception in the Italian Renaissance. Indeed, this thesis will take into account not only the categories of Horace's recipients considered by Iurilli (commentators, translators, and editors, on which I will focus in greater depth), but also Horace's biographers, and, above all, his imitators.

This thesis for the first time offers a thoroughgoing examination of both vernacular and Latin materials produced by all the above-mentioned categories. Considering works composed in both languages is foundational to my analysis, since the Italian Renaissance was constituted on the basis of a lively bilingualism. The relationships between Latin and vernacular were numerous and very complex, above all until the third decade of the Cinquecento, when both languages were largely considered as sharing the same status. Up to that moment, although it was generally acceptable to compose poems in both languages, as many authors did, even often employing the same literary authorities, such as Horace, in their compositions, it would have been inconceivable, for example, to produce an exegetical work on a classical author such as Horace in a language other than Latin. Therefore, neglecting to consider both vernacular and Latin works would have led us to neglect a large and

Horace: The Reception of the Satires and Epistles', in *A Companion to Horace*, pp. 367-90; and Leon Golden, 'Reception of Horace' *Ars Poetica*', in *A Companion to Horace*, pp. 391-413.

²¹ Francesco Tateo and Nino Scivoletto, 'Italia', in *EO*, III, 570-78.

²² See IURILLI, pp. 17-97.

important body of material, which is fundamental for a better understanding of the various forms of Horace's reception.

The temporal and geographical limits of my investigation call for explanation. This thesis largely focuses on the time span 1498-1600, mainly because in 1498, year in which the first war of Italy came to an end (and, consequently, from that year on Italy entered a new political and cultural phase, being subject to larger forms of foreign political influence), the humanistic era, which characterized the Italian fifteenth-century culture, can be considered as largely over, and a new culture (where men of letter were generally excluded from the public life, as a consequence of the partial subjugation of the Italian peninsula to foreign countries) began. On the other hand, I have taken 1600 as the end point of this investigation. Even though there is, of course, an inevitable degree of artificiality in choosing any particular date for that purpose, the extant scholarly literature has pointed out that from the beginning of the seventeenth century the approach to Horace's texts significantly changed, because readership mainly focused its attention on the moral and gnomic aspects of Horace's hexametrical works, rather than privileging his lyrical production.²³ Furthermore, Horace started to be increasingly read through a Christianizing lens and considered as an orthodox authority in ideological and pedagogical terms.²⁴ For these reasons, 1600 seemed an appropriate end point of my investigation. Nevertheless, I have exercised some discretion in including some relevant materials from both before and beyond my chronological boundaries. In some cases, these were especially significant and were bound up with the earlier reception studied; this was the case of Giovanni Narducci's 1605 anthology of Horatian translations (examined in chapter

²³ See IURILLI, pp. 65-77.

²⁴ See IURILLI, pp. 66-67.

3), which mainly included texts composed in the last decades of the sixteenth century. And earlier works were sometimes relevant (see chapters 1, 2 and 5) as a background to many cultural and literary phenomena of the beginning of the sixteenth century.

In terms of geographical boundaries, this dissertation focuses on works written by Italian authors and composed and published in the Italian Peninsula. Obviously, due to the geographical mobility of both authors and their ideas, this principle could not be applied too strictly. Still, I have admitted only a few exceptions. First, I have considered works written by Italian authors and composed or printed abroad, such as the two poetical volumes of Luigi Alamanni (1495-1556), entitled *Opere toscane* and published in Lyon (1532-1533), or the Latin poems composed by Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530) while he was accompanying his king, who had been exiled to France. Secondly, in terms of the works of foreign authors, I could not have avoided reference to those texts (mainly concerning Horatian exegesis and taken into account in chapter 2) that, whether printed in Italy or not, had major repercussions on the Italian exegetical scene and stimulated both debate and the composition of other works in the Peninsula. This was the case with the Paris 1503 Horatian commentary by the Brabant humanist Badius Ascensius (1462-1535),²⁵ and the new Venetian edition of Horace's texts of 1555, edited by the French philologist Marc-Antoine Muret (1526-1585).²⁶

Within these spatial and chronological coordinates, the dissertation's primary aims are to consider the evidence for the reception of Horace in concrete terms, and, secondly, to encompass the works of both celebrated men of letters and poets and

²⁵ See APPENDIX [19].

²⁶ See APPENDIX [46].

those of less-known figures, because distinguishing between ‘great’ texts or authors and ‘minor’ ones risks isolating the former from their contexts. Through the analysis of these works and figures, this thesis explores the ways in which late-fifteenth- and sixteenth-century readers and writers responded to Horace’s works and their legacy by adapting them to new contexts. Since these responses largely relied on the active choice of Horace’s interlocutors who ‘selected and interpreted the features that they then used to construct various visions’²⁷ of the Latin poet and his work (exactly as with Renaissance interpreters of other classical authors or even of Dante, as Simon Gilson has eloquently underlined), it is essential to investigate in detail the issues raised by the negotiation and reception of Horace’s works in various fields. The analysed material is organized into four main categories: biographers, commentators, translators, and imitators of Horace. This division echoes the model of Vladimiro Zabughin,²⁸ who in the 1920s investigated the Italian Renaissance reception of Virgil with unsurpassed acumen and erudition.²⁹ Zabughin’s structure can still be considered a valid model to frame the material related to a classical author’s reception within a relatively restricted period, such as the one that will be taken into consideration in this thesis, since it provides an insightful combination of large-scale perspective and analysis of specific case studies, contextualized within a broader overview. Although Zabughin’s precedent is useful for its attempt to chart an organic and coherent picture of Horace’s reception, this dissertation does not slavishly apply Zabughin’s framework. For instance, as I explain below, the category of Horace’s imitators has not been organized according to the various works they imitated, as

²⁷ Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, p. 5.

²⁸ Vladimiro Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento italiano. Da Dante a Torquato Tasso*, 2 vols (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1921).

²⁹ Zabughin’s unsurpassed elements are pointed out also by David Scott Wilson-Okamura in his book *Virgil in the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 2.

Zabughin did in his three chapters on the imitators of Virgil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*. Moreover, the present examination takes into consideration Horace's translators, while Zabughin entirely neglected these for Virgil. Finally, Zabughin places more emphasis on Virgil than on his readers and interpreters, whereas this dissertation adopts the opposite focus.

In order to understand what perception Renaissance readers had of Horace as a historical figure and his texts, which perceptions they wanted to spread among their contemporaries, and how knowledge of Horace's life influenced other Renaissance readers' approach to his texts, this thesis begins by focusing on Horace's biographers and commentators. Since some of the lives of the poet are part of larger exegetical works (such as those by Cristoforo Landino [1424-1498] or Antonio Mancinelli [1452-1505]) or translated editions of Horace's works (such as that by Lodovico Dolce [1508-1568]), the analyses of these biographies could have been placed in other section of the thesis. However, I have devoted a separate chapter to them for three reasons: 1) considering these together with other biographies allows the material to be presented more cohesively; 2) after their first publication, these biographies were perceived as 'detachable' texts and were placed at the beginning of other editions dealing with Horace's works; and 3) their function of presenting Horace's whole corpus demands a detailed and thorough analysis. Indeed, it is worth mentioning that for humanistic and Renaissance readers biographical accounts were in general not simply ornamental prefaces to an author's work, but instead could be considered as the first proper introductions to that author. Biographies also had an important influence on how readers perceived their subject, since the morality and integrity of the authors' actions were generally taken as evidence of the value of their

texts. This correspondence derived in general from classical antiquity's regulating principle of the *καλοκαγαθία* (*kalokagathía*), literally the principle of harmony between mind and body, but, in more general terms, the belief that there is a strict connection between formal or external properness and moral worth. This formula was particularly deep-rooted in the Latin world from which Italian humanism had evolved, since it was combined with and found a counterpart in the Roman tradition of the *mos maiorum*, which established a firm correspondence between the integrity of one's life and the probity of one's words.³⁰ This equivalence was also applicable inversely: for a Roman, unworthy speech directly bore witness to the immorality of their speaker or writer.³¹ This pervasive and deep-rooted Latin mentality influenced late Antiquity³² and, above all, the Middle Ages, through the *accessus ad auctorem* tradition,³³ and was inherited by the humanistic era. From this perspective, the

30 See Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, 16-18, but see the whole treatise for a general consideration of the pervasiveness of this principle in Latin society. See Emilio Gabba, 'Per un'interpretazione politica del *De Officiis* di Cicerone', *Rendiconti dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, 34 (1979), 117-41; Emanuele Narducci, 'Il comportamento in pubblico (Cicerone, *De Officiis*, I 126-149)', *Maia*, 36 (1984), 203-14; and Id., 'Una morale per la classe dirigente', in Cicero, *De Officiis*, ed. by Emanuele Narducci (Milan: BUR, 1987), pp. 5-65.

³¹ This Latin mentality applied not only to the early centuries of Roman history, but was also widespread in Julius Caesar's time and in the first century of the Christian era, as attested by Catullus and Martial's statements regarding the integrity of their lives, despite the immoral content of their works. See Cat. 16, 5-6, 'nam castum esse decet pium poetam / ipsum, versiculos nihil necessest' (the poet must be honest and pure, but this is not necessary for his verses), and Martial, *Epigram*. I, 4, 8, 'lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba est' (my texts are lascivious, but I lead a righteous life).

³² Walter Berschin, 'Auffällige Formen lateinischer Biographie in Spätantike und Mittelalter (IV.-XII. Jahrhundert)', in *La biographie antique*, ed. by Widu Wolfgang Ehlers (Vandoeuvres-Geneve: Fondation Hardt, 1998), pp. 63-78.

³³ On the 'accessus ad auctores' tradition see Edwin A. Quain, 'The Medieval *Accessus ad Auctores*', *Latomus*, 12 (1953), 296-311 and 460-84; *Accessus ad auctores*, ed. by Robert Burchard Constantijn Huygens (Berchem-Bruxelles: Latomus, 1954); Bruno Nardi, 'Osservazioni sul medievale *accessus ad auctores* in rapporto all'Epistola a Cangrande', in *Studi e problemi di critica testuale. Convegno di studi di filologia italiana nel centenario della Commissione per i testi di lingua (7-9 aprile 1960)* (Bologna: Commissione per i testi di lingua, 1961), pp. 273-305; Guido Baldassarri, 'Prologo e accessus ad auctores nella *Rettorica* di Brunetto Latini', *SPCT*, 12 (1976), 102-16; Alistair Minnis, 'Academic Prologues to "Auctores"', in Id., *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd Ed. (Aldershot: Solar Press, 1988), pp. 9-39; Maddalena Spallone, 'I percorsi medievali del testo: "accessus", commentari, florilegi', in *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica*, ed. by Guglielmo Cavallo, Paolo Fedeli and Andrea Giardina, 7 vols (Rome: Salerno, 1989), III (*La ricezione del testo*), 387-471; and Omerita Giuseppina Ranalli, '"Accessus ad auctorem" e primo canto dell'*Inferno* nella lettura fiorentina di Giovanni Boccaccio', in *Scrittori in*

reader's approach to an author like Horace could be influenced by a more or less positive biographical account. In terms of selection of the examined texts, I have included all manuscript and printed biographies of the poet known to me.

In addition to biographies, commentaries or commented editions were one of the main genres through which humanistic and Renaissance readers approached Horace's texts. Studying these works and the interpretations that their authors suggested of Horace's passages and texts, as well as their opinions of Horace's production as a whole, is fundamental to our understanding of contemporary treatments and appraisals of Horace's corpus. This study is based on the examination of over seventy printed editions of Horace's commentaries and exegeses, as well as of numerous manuscripts of similar works. Although this dissertation takes into consideration a very large number of texts, the sheer volume of material demanded a selection; I have thus privileged the analysis and study of printed editions, due to their larger impact and circulation. Nonetheless, manuscript works have been taken into consideration, above all in those cases in which their contents stimulated significant exegetical debates and resonance in later works. Of course, it was not possible to cover here all Horatian exegetical material composed in Italy in the sixteenth century, and one notable omission is the study of manuscript material related to university teaching, namely students and professors' notes. It would have been interesting to encompass in the analysis these texts, which formally constitute part of the process of reception, but the focus of this study has largely been centred on exegetical material that was conceived as a book product, with

cattedra: la forma della "lezione" dalle origini al Novecento, ed. by Floriana Calitti (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002), pp. 9-20.

recognizable rhetorical characteristics.³⁴ It is nonetheless hoped that the findings presented here will offer a reference point and complement future studies of this phenomenon.

The reception of Horace was also, however, closely tied to the writing of literature. In his book *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance* (1995),³⁵ Martin McLaughlin highlights the importance of reception for both Renaissance theory and literary practices within the general process of Renaissance imitation of classical antiquity. Julia Gaisser has applied a similar approach in concrete terms to the reception of a single classical author, Catullus, in the Renaissance.³⁶ Her study shows how interpretations and exegesis of Catullus were interwoven and connected with the various forms of literary imitation of his texts throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Along the same lines as Gaisser, after having focused on Renaissance exegetical reception of Horace, this dissertation pays attention to the various forms of Horatian reception in several literary practices. In general terms, the major forms of Horatian reception that have been studied are those that 1) deal with similar themes of those modulated in Horace's works; 2) stylistically and rhetorically allude to or quote passages of his corpus;³⁷ and 3) structurally reproduce Horace's forms and features.

Horace's literary reception included works composed both in Latin and Italian vernacular. However, due to the immense literary works produced during the

³⁴ On the rhetorical character of academic commentary see Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 63-86.

³⁵ Martin McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance. The Theory and Practice of Literary Imitation in Italy from Dante to Bembo* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995).

³⁶ Julia Gaisser, *Catullus and his Renaissance Readers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

³⁷ On the relevance of allusion within reception studies see Craig Kallendorf, 'Allusion as Reception', in *Classics and the Uses of Reception*, pp. 67-79.

sixteenth century, a selection was necessary. First, I have privileged Renaissance works belonging to some of the literary genres frequented by Horace. Thus, the sections of this thesis devoted to Horatian literary reception mainly focus on lyrical poetry and satires in verse. For the latter genre, it has been also possible to take into account the reception of Horace's *Epistulae*, which did not give birth to a separate genre in the Renaissance. Nevertheless, I have not focused on imitations of the *Art of Poetry*, since the majority of these Renaissance works are less literary products than new texts of literary criticism (even though predominantly indebted to Horace's categories and ideas); as such, they fall outside the remit of this thesis.

The analysis of the texts outlined above occupies three sections of the thesis: two of these sections (chapter 3 and 4) are devoted to an analysis of the literary material in Italian, and one (chapter 5) to the Latin works. Although this approach has the disadvantage of relegating to separate chapters authors who composed in the two languages, such a division of the material allows the three chapters to deal with a homogeneous range of materials and, above all, is intended to provide the basis for a clear understanding of the respective peculiarities of the two literary fields, read through the lens of Horatian reception. Within one of these literary fields, that concerning Italian vernacular, the material is examined across two chapters, with regard to translations and imitations respectively. Since the boundary between refined imitative forms of a classical text and its translations, at least those modelled in accordance to Cicero's *orator* approach, was neither always clearly marked nor even always perceived in the Renaissance,³⁸ the criterion followed to distinguish the

³⁸ See Carlo Dionisotti, *Tradizione classica e volgarizzamenti*, in Id. *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana* (Turin: Einaudi, 1967), pp. 103-44; Martin McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance* (which is also essential in terms of critical bibliography); Frederick M. Rener, 'Translation as *Ars* and the Translator as *Artifex*', in Id., *Interpretatio: Language and Translation*

two kinds of materials has been that of considering as translations exclusively those texts that were defined as such by either their authors or their contemporary editors.³⁹ Such an approach may seem overly strict (above all in those cases in which manuscript texts, lacking the clear labels of the Italian print culture, are concerned),⁴⁰ but this criterion will not lead to neglecting many important Italian works modelled on Horace, since all the texts excluded from the chapter on translators will be taken into consideration in the following chapter, devoted to the various practices of Italian imitations of Horatian poems. As far as the criteria regarding translators are concerned, the limited number of sixteenth-century printed translations⁴¹ has allowed a thoroughgoing examination of this form. On the other hand, it would have been impossible to carry out an accurate and wide-ranging investigation of the whole phenomenon of manuscript translations of Horace; this dissertation therefore focuses on a few case studies, which have been chosen so as to show the chronological

from Cicero to Tytler (Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi, 1989), pp. 261-325; Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in Middle Ages*, pp. 37-62; Gianfranco Folena, *Volgarizzamenti e tradurre* (Turin: Einaudi, 1991), Bodo Guthmüller, 'Letteratura nazionale e traduzione dei classici nel Cinquecento', *LI*, 45 (1993), 501-18; and Valerie Worth-Stylianou, 'Translatio and translation in the Renaissance: from Italy to France', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, ed. by Peter Brooks, Hugh B. Nisbet, and Claude Rawson, 8 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), III (*The Renaissance*), 127-35. On the theme of Italian Renaissance imitation in general, see also Hermann Gmelin, 'Das Prinzip der Imitatio in der romanischen Literatur der Renaissance', *Romanische Forschungen*, 46 (1932), 173-229; George W. Pigman, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *RQ*, 33 (1980), 1-32; Thomas M. Greene, *The Light of Troy. Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); and Donatella Coppini, 'Gli umanisti e i classici: imitazione coatta e rifiuto dell'imitazione', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 19 (1989), 269-85.

³⁹ Renaissance terminology referring to translation is wide and multifaceted. I mainly focused on those works defined as 'traduzioni'/'tradutioni', 'volgarizzamenti'/'vulgarizzamenti', 'riduzioni'/'ridutioni', 'parafrasi poetiche', 'parafrasi toscane', and 'esposizioni'/'espositioni', as well as those texts 'volti' or 'detti' in 'vulgare'/'volgare' or in 'toscano'.

⁴⁰ Since the 1530s Italian print culture tends to be quite clear when things are translations, often displayed on the title page. See, among the others, Paolo Trovato, *Con ogni diligenza corretto: la stampa e le revisioni editoriali dei testi letterari italiani (1470-1570)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991); and Helena Sanson, 'Introduction. Teaching and Learning Conduct in Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo della istituzione delle donne* (1545): An "Original" Plagiarism?', in Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo della istituzione delle donne, secondo li tre stati che cadono nella vita umana*, ed. by Helena Sanson (Cambridge: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 2015), pp. 1-68 (pp. 4-22).

⁴¹ My reference points are the indexes of Horatian printed translations that are included in Iurilli's volume. See IURILLI, pp. 329-39. On Horace's sixteenth-century printed translations see p. 335.

extension of the phenomenon, and to privilege the translations composed by authors who are also considered in other chapters. The overall aim is to provide a more articulated investigation of the various forms of their Horatian reception.

Chapter 4, devoted to the Italian imitators of Horace, mainly focuses, as stated above, on satirical and lyrical works. Whereas verse satire is a relatively homogeneous genre in the Italian Renaissance and its examination therefore follows a chronological order, the manifold modulations of sixteenth-century lyrical poetry have suggested an investigation in two blocks in order to offer a more detailed and exhaustive overview of Horace's reception in this field. One part deals with those lyrical works composed in accordance with Petrarchan metrics, the other with those written in non-traditional metrical forms, including the various poetical experiments to re-create Latin verses in Italian. In all three sections of chapter 4, I have generally favoured those Horatian imitators who produced a corpus of texts rather than a single one, since their example is more representative of various forms and methods of receptions. It is for this reason, for instance, that the section devoted to Italian satire mainly focuses on Ludovico Ariosto and Luigi Alamanni's works. However, this and the other sections also consider those poets who composed fewer works and show signs of having followed Horace. The limited number of satirical authors in the Cinquecento offered the opportunity to cover the majority of them. The lyrical poets, on the other hand, are more numerous, and greater selectivity was needed. This section of my dissertation takes into account slightly fewer than twenty Horatian imitators. I have offered a synchronic analysis of the phenomenon across the various geographical macro-regions of the Peninsula, according to the methodology applied

by Carlo Dionisotti.⁴² Since the range of works, examined in the three sections of this chapter, is matched by the array of vernacular poetical texts composed throughout the sixteenth century, this chapter is slightly longer than the other four included in this thesis. While the section on Horatian imitators who did not disregard Petrarchan forms is largely based on the analysis of printed material (due to its overabundance), manuscript poetical collections have a more central role in the section devoted to Italian lyrics written in non-traditional metrics, since in this case the number of printed works is smaller. Once more the overriding objective was not to carry out detailed archival research in the hope of discovering unknown Horatian collections of verse, but rather to examine those in which Horatian themes, forms, and modes were most evident, such as the collections of Renato Trivulzio (1495-1545) and Benedetto Varchi (1502-1565).

Finally, in the case of poetical imitators of Horace in Latin, I have privileged those authors who either imitated Horace in some of their vernacular works as well or commented on his corpus, in order to analyse the different forms of their Horatian reception from a range of perspectives. A second criterion, quite similar to that employed for the Italian imitators, has been applied. In order to map the manifold imitations of Horace's themes, features, and modes in the most detailed and accurate way, this dissertation takes into consideration more than thirty authors, who mainly composed their works before the 1540s, since from that moment on the ever increasing use of the vernacular for literary purposes meant that Latin literature progressively became less practised in Italy, consequently limiting the forms of Horatian imitation.

⁴² Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, pp. 25-54.

This overview of the principles that have informed my selections and organization of the thesis has provided, then, an outline of the dissertation itself. In addition to the five chapters on Horace (biographers, commentators, translators, and imitators in both Italian and Latin), I include an appendix of Horatian editions and exegetical works devoted to all or part of his corpus, organized in chronological order and ranging from the 1471 *editio princeps* of Horatian texts to the early-seventeenth-century texts that refer to the debates on Horace's *Art of Poetry* that took place in the last decade of the Cinquecento. Although the appendix is connected particularly with chapter 2, it is also relevant to other chapters, such as 1 and 3.

One final framing remark is necessary and this concerns the tendency for critics to neglect Horace's reception in Italy during the sixteenth century. Of course a few critical voices have drawn attention to the significance of his influence, highlighting a complex series of relationships between the Latin author and many sixteenth-century works. Yet these aspects have not been the objects of a thoroughgoing study from a multi-layered perspective. An investigation that brings together various aspects of Horace's *fortuna* is thus all the more needed since it covers a topic that is not only neglected but represents a major phenomenon within the Italian exegetical and literary field of the time.

1. RENAISSANCE BIOGRAPHERS OF HORACE

In this chapter I will analyse the eight biographies of Horace composed in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The majority of these are written in Latin, while some of those dating to the mid Cinquecento are composed in Italian. In strictly chronological terms, the first four Horatian lives I will analyse (those by Sicco Polenton, Martino Filetico, Cristoforo Landino, and Antonio Mancinelli) fall outside the remit of this thesis, since they were composed before 1498. But one has to consider that these fifteenth-century biographies were essential points of reference for those written in the following century, and were in fact more influential than the lives written by the ancient commentators of Horace. Moreover, their impact is not only important in terms of direct influence on later biographical accounts, but also in terms of the powerful effect these texts had on the sixteenth-century reading public: they were often re-published during the Cinquecento, and were the initial means through which the sixteenth-century audience came into contact with Horace's biographical details.

I have already pointed out in the Introduction the importance and the impact that biographical accounts had on humanistic and Renaissance readers. Their approach to a classical author could be influenced by a more-or-less positive biography, which described the moral (or immoral) deeds of a writer. Horace's morality was generally confirmed by his fame (commonly accepted throughout the

whole Middle Ages) as a chastiser of vice and teacher of virtue. However, his imprecise, albeit not undeniable, association with Epicureanism was problematic, and could have partially damaged Horace's reputation, especially in the middle to late decades of the Quattrocento, when scholarly attention was increasingly paid to the Latin poet's *Odes*, which most clearly bear witness to Horace's Epicurean connections.¹ Those humanists who admired Horace's works and were profoundly interested in them made many efforts to soften, justify, or deny the Latin poet's relationship with Epicurus. One of the strategies they employed was to present Horace's biography in a moralizing key, in order to present the poet as a righteous and honest man whose works bore witness to his integrity and therefore deserved high consideration. This practice was most necessary during the fifteenth century; as time passed, Horace became increasingly esteemed and accepted. However, the Epicurean passages of his works continued to be problematic throughout the whole Cinquecento, as testified both by the pervasiveness of highlighting Horace's integrity in his biography, and the various strategies of camouflage and censorship of the offending passages.

The fifteenth- and sixteenth-century biographies of Horace, then, bear witness to the humanists' desire to underline the moral integrity of Horace's works by casting a positive light on the life of their author. They were also, however, conceived as show-pieces for their authors' scholarship and their knowledge of

¹ On Epicureanism in the Renaissance see, among the others, Martin Davies, 'Cosma Raimondi's Defence of Epicurus', *Rinascimento*, 27 (1987), 123-39; Philip Hardie, *Lucretian Receptions. History, the Sublime, Knowledge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Lisa Piazzzi, *Lucrezio. Il 'De rerum natura' e la cultura occidentale* (Naples: Liguori, 2009); Mariantonietta Palladini, *Lucrezio e l'epicureismo tra Riforma e Controriforma* (Naples: Liguori, 2011); Gerald Passannante, *The Lucretian Renaissance. Philology and the Afterlife of Tradition* (Chicago-London: University of Chicago Press, 2011); and Jill Kraye, 'Epicureanism and the Other Hellenistic Philosophies', in *BENLW*, I, pp. 617-29.

classical antiquity. Considering both these tendencies and the various ways in which they intertwined, this chapter will analyse the biographies of Horace composed in both manuscript and printed form between the mid Quattrocento and the late sixteenth century.

Before turning to the Italian Renaissance lives of the poet, it is worth briefly referring to the biographies of Horace that late Latin antiquity transmitted to the humanistic age, since these formed the primary points of reference for the biographical texts on which I will focus. The earliest surviving biography of Horace is that written by Suetonius Tranquillus (II century AD),² which represented the source and the model for the biographies compiled by the later Latin commentators Porphyry (II-III century AD) and the so-called Pseudo-Acro, actually a collection of annotations by the second-century Latin grammarian Helenius Acro together with their medieval embellishments.³ Porphyry composed a short biography of Horace that considerably simplified Suetonius's account, compressing its various elements and details in a way that suited his public.⁴ The different branches of the manuscript tradition of Pseudo-Acro's scholia transmit three lives of Horace. First, the so-called *Vita cruquiana II* and *Vita cruquiana III*, as Giorgio Brugnoli named them,⁵ because they were the second and the third biographical accounts after that of Porphyry (labelled as *Vita cruquiana I*) printed by Jacob Cruquius in his 1578 complete edition

² See Augusto Rostagni, 'La *Vita* svetoniana di Orazio ne' suoi elementi e nelle sue fonti', in Id., *Scritti minori*, 2 vols (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1956), II.2 (*Romana*), 266-302.

³ Porphyry's commentary can be read in *Pomponi Porphyryonis Commentum in Horatium Flaccum*, in *EO*, III, 694-83; Pseudo-Acro's scholia in *Pseudacronis Scholia in Horatium*, in *EO*, III, 785-925.

⁴ For the text of Porphyry's life of Horace, see *Pomponi Porphyryonis Commentum in Horatium Flaccum*, 694. It is also published in Suetonius, *Vita di Orazio*, ed. by Giorgio Brugnoli (Rome: Palombi, 1968), p. 39.

⁵ See Suetonius, *Vita di Orazio*, ed. by Brugnoli, p. 12.

of Horace.⁶ The third life, which merges elements from both the other two pseudo-Acronian biographies and Porphyry's text,⁷ was not included in Cruquius's edition, but was transmitted only by a series of Parisian codices (named *Scholia λ φ ψ*).⁸ The major Suetonian version and the four minor ones were the main sources, along with the autobiographical passages of Horace's works, for the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century biographers.

1.1 FIFTEENTH-CENTURY BIOGRAPHERS

The first life of the Horace I considered here is that of Sicco Polenton (c. 1375-c. 1446), composed between the 1420s and the 1430s and included in the third book of his *Scriptorum illustrium latinae linguae libri XVIII*.⁹ Sicco Ricci, also known as Sicco Polenton (c. 1375-c. 1446) was a notary of Padua. As well as working tirelessly for the Commune of Padua, he devoted himself to literature. In 1419 he composed a comedy, *Catinia*, and between 1433 and 1438 he wrote many religious prose works. His most famous book, however, is the *Scriptorum libri* (a first draft of this work, interrupted at the beginning of Book VII, was written between 1419 and 1426, while the final version was composed ex novo between 1427 and 1433).

⁶ Both *Vita cruquiana II* and *Vita cruquiana III* can be read in *Pseudacronis Scholia in Horatium*, 785, and in Suetonius, *Vita di Orazio*, ed. by Brugnoli, pp. 39-40.

⁷ See Hendrik Johan Botschuyver, 'Quelques remarques sur les scholies parisiennes λ φ ψ d'Horace', *Latomus*, 3 (1939), 25-51.

⁸ The third pseudo-Acronian life, published by neither Cruicke nor Keller, was critically edited in *Scholia in Horatium λφψ codicum Parisinorum latinorum 7972, 7974, 7971*, ed. by Hendrik Johan Botschuyver (Amsterdam: in aedibus van Bottenburg, 1935). It can be also read in Suetonius, *Vita di Orazio*, ed. by Brugnoli, pp. 40-41.

⁹ Sicco's history of Latin literature can be read in *Sicconis Polentoni Scriptorum Illustrium Latinae Linguae Libri XVIII*, ed. by Berthold Louis Ullman (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1928). For more information on Sicco's life see Paolo Baldan, 'Introduction', in Sicco Polenton, *Catinia* (Anguillara Veneta: Comune di Anguillara Veneta, 1996), pp. 29-32; and Berthold Louis Ullman, 'Introduction', in *Sicconis Polentoni Scriptorum Illustrium Libri*, pp. viii-xii.

Although all Sicco's works remained unpublished during his lifetime, he was well-known among his contemporaries as a learned humanist. Scholars consider Sicco's *Scriptorum libri* to be the first modern history of Latin literature, since, unlike other late medieval and humanistic collections of biographies, Sicco's work described the lives neither of ancient history's *viri*, nor those of the heroes of a specific city, but focused exclusively on those Latin *scriptores* considered worthy of being remembered and imitated for their literary compositions.¹⁰ The criteria Sicco followed in choosing which authors to include in his work were both aesthetic and moral. Sicco explicitly selected those authors who wrote in Latin *ornate ac docte* (in a polished and erudite way), who were *veteres* (no longer alive), and who dealt *pulcherrimis de rebus* (with highly noble topics).¹¹ Even though the author had precise models to follow in composing his *Scriptorum libri* (primarily the two works by Petrarch and St Jerome, both entitled *De viris illustribus*),¹² his series of biographies is unique in its genre because, gathering together classical and medieval authors, it is neither organized in alphabetic order nor divided between pagan and

¹⁰ See Paolo Viti, 'Aspetti della tecnica compositiva nei *Scriptorum illustrium latinae linguae libri* di Sicco Polenton', *Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche*, 55. 3 (1976), 249-75 (p. 250); Remigio Sabbadini, 'Siccone Polenton. A proposito dei suoi *Scriptorum illustrium latinae linguae libri*', *GSLI*, 93 (1929), 313-20 (p. 314); and Ullman, 'Introduction', p. xiii.

¹¹ See Viti, 'Aspetti della tecnica compositiva', 256-58.

¹² See Ullman, 'Introduction', p. xii. As far as Petrarch is concerned, one has to remember that Sicco followed not only Petrarch's *De viris illustribus*, but also the model of his *Rerum memorandarum libri*. Sicco, however, shows he is aware that he has many important predecessors as a biographer whom he lists in order to legitimize his work: 'ex Graecis Antigonus Charistius, Hermippus Peripateticus et Aristosenus musicus; memorantur ex latinis Cornelius Nepos iste, M. Varro, M. Cicero, Suetonius Tranquillus, Pomponius Ruffus, Franciscus Petrarca. Memorantur Hieronymus presbyter [...] et qui eum secuti aiunt Genandius atque Isidorus, quibus recensere viros qui suos ad dies usque floruisse sacris in litteris placuit' (*Scriptorum libri*, p. 216) (Among the Greeks one must remember Antigonus Charistus, Hermippus Peripateticus and the musician Aristosenus. Among the Romans one must remember Cornelius Nepos, Varro, Cicero, Suetonius Tranquillus, Pomponius Ruffus, Petrarch. St Jerome [...] and his declared followers, i.e. Genandius and Isidorus, who chose to list those authors who, up to their age, dealt with religious matters).

Christian writers.¹³ Rather, Sicco opted to follow an organization based on literary genre.¹⁴ After the first book, which contains a list of the more than one-hundred authors whose lives are included in the *Scriptorum libri*, and a discussion on the origins of the alphabet, the arts, and the sciences, Books II-IV are devoted to poets (from Livius Andronicus to Petrarch), while the following five books focus on historians and masters of eloquence (respectively, Books V-VIII and IX). Sicco then continues with the lives and works of Cicero and Seneca (Books X-XVI deals with the former, Books XVII-XVIII with the latter), and concludes with a book devoted to many authors of other literary genres.

Following a recurrent scheme,¹⁵ Sicco's biographies do not aim at simply illustrating the works of the ancient authors, but also at depicting the deeds and morals of the major Latin poets and prose writers. In so doing, Sicco seeks to prove that his *Libri* have a moral value, since, by glorifying the actions of illustrious literary men, they invite the reader (more or less explicitly) to follow their models.¹⁶ As we will see, this intention is also apparent in his biography of Horace. Although the moral component is central in Sicco's work, his biographies are far from tendentious, and can be considered, as Zabughin has pointed out, a proper history of Latin literature, addressed to a circle of readers much more learned than the rhetoric

¹³ By contrast, Geremia da Montagnone, a contemporary of Sicco, organized his *Compendium moralium notabilium* alphabetically and by religion. On Geremia da Montagnone see Gabriella Milan, 'Geremia da Montagnone', in *DBI*, LIII (2000), 400-03; and Jacqueline Hamesse, 'Parafrasi, florilegi e compendi', in *Lo spazio letterario del Medioevo*, 3 vols (Rome: Salerno, 1995), I, 197-220.

¹⁴ See Viti, 'Aspetti della tecnica compositiva', 256.

¹⁵ See Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, p. 10.

¹⁶ See Viti, 'Aspetti della tecnica compositiva', 257.

students for whom the lives of the poets written by the ancient commentators were compiled.¹⁷

The main model for Sicco's Horatian life is the biography of the poet written by Suetonius. Apart from Sicco, none of the other Italian Renaissance authors who wrote lives of or commentaries on Horace shows any evidence of having read Suetonius's biography. This text, in fact, was published for the first time only in 1548 in Leiden by Peter Nannink (Petrus Nannius Alomariensis), and then in 1555 by Marc-Antoine Muret, who took the Suetonian life from one of the now-lost Blandinian codices, later used also by Jacob Cruquius for his Horatian editions.¹⁸ Before 1548, Suetonius's biography of Horace circulated only in very rare manuscript copies, one of which Sicco must have possessed.¹⁹ This is proven by the fact that in Sicco's biography, unlike all the other later lives of the poet, there are elements that are not transmitted by any of the other ancient biographies, and that therefore clearly derive from Suetonius's text (even if Suetonius is never explicitly mentioned).²⁰ For example, Sicco states Horace's precise date of birth (the sixth day after the Ides of December, i.e. 8 December), and that the father of the poet was an *exactionum coactor* (tax collector).²¹ The other ancient lives skip the first piece of information, and either omit the latter, mentioning just Horace's father was a freedman (as Porphyry and the anonymous author of the *Vita cruquiana II* do), or

¹⁷ Zabughin, *Vergilio*, I, 157.

¹⁸ See Suetonius, *Vita di Orazio*, ed. Brugnoli, p. 8.

¹⁹ Even now the life of Horace written by Suetonius is preserved only in a few manuscripts. The three most ancient instances are now in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *codices parisini* 7974, 7971, 7972.

²⁰ See Ullman, 'Introduction', p. xiii and n. 2.

²¹ See Suetonius, *Vita di Orazio*, ed. Brugnoli, p. 18 and 23; and Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, pp. 90-91.

state he had a different profession.²² In addition, Sicco also quotes Suetonius almost literally in other passages of his text, as when he mentions the insult directed to the poet's father connected with his humble job,²³ or when he refers to Horace's country homes (donated to the poet by Maecenas and Augustus), and to the circumstances of his sudden illness, which led to his death;²⁴ Sicco's debt to Suetonius is also clear when the biographer notes that some extracanonial texts (such as some elegiac lines and some prose epistles) have been transmitted under the name of Horace.²⁵ Furthermore, Sicco also follows Suetonius when he inserts in his biography both the text of the testament of Maecenas, and of some letters of Augustus addressed to Maecenas and Horace.²⁶ Finally, one can highlight another characteristic of Sicco's biography derived from Suetonius: Sicco refers to the biographical information, present in Horace's works, without quoting the passages from which he drew it, in contrast to Porphyry's citational practice.

²² In the *Vita cruquiana III* he is described as a *praecox* (auctioneer), whereas the anonymous author of the *Scholia λ φ ψ* writes he was a *salsamentarius* (grocer).

²³ See Suetonius, *Vita di Orazio*, ed. Brugnoli, p. 18 (reported also by the anonymous author of the *Scholia λ φ ψ*), and Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, p. 91.

²⁴ See Suetonius, *Vita di Orazio*, ed. Brugnoli, pp. 22-23; and Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, p. 97.

²⁵ Sicco (*Scriptorum libri*, p. 97) states, in fact, that 'scripti quoque ab eo versus elegi epistolaeque prosa oration feruntur' (some report that elegiac lines and some epistles in prose were also written by him). This information is derived from Suetonius (Suetonius, *Vita di Orazio*, ed. Brugnoli, p. 22), but while the ancient biographer clearly writes that these works must be considered spurious, Sicco omits this notice. To be more precise, Sicco stated that they were considered unauthentic in the first version of his life of Horace, but decided to omit this information when rewriting his biography because he 'wanted to avoid giving the impression of deceiving' (Ullman, 'Introduction', p. xxxv). For the passage of the text of the first edition and a brief commentary on the episode, see Ullman, 'Introduction', pp. xxv-xxxvi.

²⁶ While reporting the letters of the emperor, Sicco literally quotes them as they are reported in the Suetonian life. The only difference between Sicco's version of these letters and Suetonius's text is that the Italian biographer inserts at the beginning of each passage he the Latin formula of greeting with which ancient epistles opened, either because in the text he used these salutations were present, or because, in so doing, he thought to heighten the sense of antiquity of the quotations. See Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, pp. 94-96. Before Augustus's letter to Maecenas, Sicco adds the formula 'Caesar Augustus Maecenati sal[utem] d[at]', while before Augustus's letters to Horace he adds 'Caesar Augustus Horatio Flacco Venusino poetae optimo sal[utem] d[at]'. On the original letters see Suetonius, *Vita di Orazio*, ed. Brugnoli, pp. 18-22.

Although Sicco uses Suetonius's text as his main reference point, he does not follow his model slavishly. First, Sicco does not respect the order with which Suetonius mentions the events of Horace's life; indeed, he opens his biography with the birth of the poet, which Suetonius places at the very end of his life.²⁷ Similarly, Sicco places in one of his first sections anecdotes regarding Horace's lechery and his amatory practices, which Suetonius again mentioned at the end of his biography.²⁸ This rearrangement appears to be a purposeful choice, related to the general ethical goal of Sicco's work. While Suetonius simply mentions Horace's lustfulness as a general characteristic of the poet and a moral counterpart of the physical portrait that he sketched at the end of his text, Sicco pursues a different aim. He does not wish, it seems, to refer to Horace's lust in his concluding paragraphs, in which he simply mentions Horace's short and corpulent physique and his anger, along with his honesty, and his enduring desire for quiet living. Instead, Sicco aims at presenting the poet's lechery as a vice of his youth and, for this reason, he mentions the anecdote of the *speculatum cubiculum* (a room upholstered with mirrors, that it seems the poet used to see himself from many perspectives while making love) among the accounts of Horace's stay in Athens, where he went in his twenties to complete his studies.²⁹ This strategy not only makes Horace's erotic excesses more excusable, but it also tempers the even more despicable defect of which the poet stood accused, that is, his closeness to the Epicureans. Sicco himself states that Horace sympathized with this philosophical sect, as is clearly specified in the *Vita cruquiana III* and might also be inferred from some of Horace's texts; he also

²⁷ See Suetonius, *Vita di Orazio*, ed. Brugnoli, p. 23; and Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, p. 90.

²⁸ See Suetonius, *Vita di Orazio*, ed. Brugnoli, p. 22; and Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, p. 92.

²⁹ Moreover Sicco (*Scriptorum libri*, p. 92) explicitly states 'Venereis autem iuvenis delectatus est plurimum' (in his youth he delighted himself with the pleasures of Venus).

explicitly describes the mirrored room as an *epicureum institutum* (a custom of the Epicureans).³⁰ Since Horace's intemperance in love is revealed to be a vice of youth, and since his Epicureanism appears in Sicco's account only in connection with the poet's lechery, one may assume the poet's philosophical sympathies were also just a failing of his youth. Sicco could thus present Horace's mature conduct as morally commendable.

As often in *Scriptorum libri*, Sicco combines in his life of Horace details drawn from the ancient biographies with points derived from both classical and medieval commentators (with whom he sometimes enters into polemic), as well as from the works of the poet himself.³¹ This material is, in addition, interspersed with many erudite paragraphs and antiquarian explanations. Indeed, Sicco, unlike other biographers, does not limit himself to the occasional excursus when dealing with the historical events that affected Horace's life,³² but indulges in long and less relevant historical accounts. At the very beginning of his exposition, Sicco notes that Horace was born under the Roman republic, and uses this as the pretext for devoting a paragraph to describing this form of government. Later on, he adds a brief comment on the origin of the city of Venusia, Horace's hometown, and some much longer explanations relating to the battle of Philippi in which Octavian defeated the army led by Caesar's murderer Brutus, under whom Horace fought, and to the mercy that Augustus displayed towards the defeated partisans of Brutus, including Horace. Sicco also reports three possible motivations of Augustus's later patronage of and friendship toward Horace: while Octavian was generally merciful, he also wanted

³⁰ Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, p. 92.

³¹ See Zabughin, *Vergilio*, I, 157-58; and Ullman, 'Introduction', p. xxxvi.

³² This tendency was largely practiced in the Middle Ages. See Zabughin, *Vergilio*, I, 154 and n. 34.

both to show that he could absorb a former enemy into his entourage, and to win the favour of a poet whose satirical darts had the potential of damaging his reputation, both among his contemporaries and in later times.³³

It is also highly probable that some other passages of Sicco's life draw on Horace's works. For example, Sicco states that the poet, before being introduced to Octavian, became first a friend of Virgil, then of Varus, then of Maecenas, and only later of the *princeps* himself (see *Sat.* I, 6, 55). Both Porphyry and the authors of the pseudo-Acronian lives, however, suggest that the poet, upon returning to Rome after the battle of Philippi, immediately became familiar with Maecenas, who introduced him to Augustus. Another element taken from Horace's poems in Sicco's life of the poet concerns Horace's escape during the battle of Philippi. Even though both Porphyry and two out of three pseudo-Acronian accounts state that Augustus captured Horace, Sicco decides not to mention this fact, since Suetonius does not refer to it; he does, however, mention the flight of Horace, probably deriving this information from a controversial passage of the *Carmina* (II, 7, 9) in which the poet writes that he 'Philippos et celerem fugam sensit' (suffered Philippi and a hurried flight).³⁴

³³ See Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, pp. 94-95. Dorothy Mae Robathan, 'The Sources of Sicco Polenton's *Scriptorum illustrium libri*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Chicago, 1929), p. 19, states that Sicco either derived the reasons of Augustus's attitude from a now-unknown source, or inferred them himself. I think, on the contrary, that Sicco may have simply gathered them from a passage of Horace's works. In the eighth and ninth odes of the fourth book of his *Carmina* the poet deals with the theme of poetry, one of his topoi, from a very specific point of view, i.e., as the unique source of immortality, without which great actions cannot be immortalized. Horace (*Carm.* IV, 9, 25-28) wrote that 'Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona / multi sed omnes [...] ignoti [...] / carent quia vate sacro' (many heroes lived before Agamemnon, but all are unknown because they lack a sacred poet). Following these suggestions, Sicco may have attributed this idea to Augustus.

³⁴ Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, p. 96. Modern scholars do not mention this episode in their biography of the poet. See Robin Nisbet, 'Horace: life and chronology', in *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, pp. 7-21 (p. 7). There is, in fact, no evidence in the Horatian texts to support this statement, despite the unclear passage of *Carm.* II, 7 quoted in the text.

Sicco's sources are not, however, limited to Suetonius. An important source is St Jerome's Latin translation of the Greek Eusebian *Chronicon*, explicitly quoted at the end of Sicco's text when dealing with the death of the poet. Sicco states that Horace died when he was fifty-seven 'ut scribit Eusebius' (as Eusebius writes).³⁵ He resorts to this source probably because the others were in disagreement: Suetonius, in a corrupt passage implies that the poet died at the age of fifty-nine, while the anonymous author of the *Vita cruquiana III* states he was seventy. It is interesting to note that Eusebius is employed not only to validate this observation, but also to supplement it with interesting chronological comparisons. The year of Horace's death is not only identified with that of the consulate of Marius Censorinus and Asinius Gallus (as Suetonius does), but also as the 'annus hic ante natum Iesum Christum, verum Dei filium ac verum deum, nonus' (the ninth year before the birth of Jesus Christ, true son of God and true God).³⁶ However Eusebius is not directly quoted, nor are his chronological parallels employed when Sicco deals with Horace's birth. In this case, the biographer simply mentions that the poet was born in the year 689 *ab Urbe condita*, 'Lucio Cotta et Lucio Torquato consulibus',³⁷ without saying that that year was 65 BC, as Eusebius clearly states. Perhaps, while composing this first part of his biography, Sicco did not consult the *Chronicon*. Had he done so, not only would he have revised this date, but he also would not have stated that, when Horace was born, 'annos tunc circiter novem agebat Maro' (Virgil was approximately nine years old),³⁸ since Eusebius clearly notes that Virgil was born just four years before Horace. In this case, Sicco either made a mistake while quoting

³⁵ Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, p. 97.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, p. 90.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

from memory, or consulted a different manuscript. This is not, however, the only episode in which Sicco writes something that is absent from his main sources. Indeed, while dealing with Horace's student years, Sicco reports that the poet studied every subject, included philosophy, in Rome, while in Greece he 'plus quam Romae didicisset pauxillum invenit' (learnt a very little more of what he was taught in Rome).³⁹ This is surprising given that not only does the author of the *Vita cruquiana III* clearly state that Horace went to Athens to study philosophy, but Horace himself also confirms this in *Epist.* II, 2, 43-45.

Despite these minor imprecisions, Sicco's life of Horace is an outstanding biography thanks to its scope, knowledge, and erudition. Moreover, this text is remarkable not only as the first humanist biography of Horace, but also one of the first humanist attempts to bring elements of aesthetic criticism to the biographical genre, from which they had generally been considered extraneous.⁴⁰ Indeed, Sicco opens his text with an explicit quotation from Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, pointing out that Horace was the purest and tersest satirist and the only lyricist worth reading.⁴¹ Moreover, Sicco concludes the Latin author's biography with a brief note on the value of the Horace's poetry.⁴²

³⁹ Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, p. 91. The statement that in Athens Horace learnt 'a very little more than what he was taught in Rome' could be derived from an overly strict interpretation of *Epist.* II, 2, 43 ('adiecere bonae paulo plus artis Athenae' [then Learned Athens added a bit more culture]).

⁴⁰ See Zabughin, *Vergilio*, I, 159-60.

⁴¹ See Quint. *Inst. Orat.* X, 96; and Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, p. 90.

⁴² See Sicco, *Scriptorum libri*, p. 97: 'qui autem sit post eum (Horatium) poeta egregius memorandus ac sequatur sine intervallo (sic), nec parvo temporis intervallo, video neminem' (if one wonders whether after him there was a more excellent poet, even contemplating a long time interval, no one can be mentioned).

Although Sicco's *Scriptorum libri* remained unpublished until 1928,⁴³ and enjoyed only a very limited circulation in its own time,⁴⁴ there is clear evidence that the fifteenth-century humanist Martino da Filetino (1430-c. 1490), who went under the name of Filetico in humanist circles,⁴⁵ read and used Sicco's life of Horace. Filetico studied in Ferrara with Guarino Veronese and gained so bright a reputation as a refined and learned humanist that Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, asked Filetico to become tutor to his son Buonoconte. After the premature death of his pupil, Filetico moved to Milan, where he became the private mentor of Costanzo and Battista Sforza. When the latter went to Urbino to marry the Duke of Montefeltro, Filetico followed her and remained in Urbino until 1467. He then went to Rome, where he taught rhetoric and Greek language and literature at the *Studium Urbis* until 1483.⁴⁶ He was renowned as a poet,⁴⁷ but his fame as a humanist was mainly linked to his devotion to commenting on and editing classical authors such as

⁴³ The first complete edition of Sicco's text was edited by Ullmann in 1928, but some portions of the lives were published during the nineteenth and early twenty century: see Ullman, 'Introduction', pp. xxxix-xl.

⁴⁴ See Viti, 'Aspetti della tecnica compositiva', 251. Zabughin (*Vergilio*, I, 157) had a different opinion ('l'opera ebbe discreta fortuna'), but he derived his remarks from the eighteenth-century stylistic corrections to some of Sicco's biographies, while I am interested on Sicco's influence primarily in the Italian Renaissance, for which the words of Paolo Cortesi (1465-1510), quoted by Viti ('Aspetti della tecnica compositiva', 269-270 n. 13) are most eloquent: Sicco's books 'fere ab omnibus legi sunt desiti' (are neglected by almost everyone).

⁴⁵ On Filetico, see Benedetto Pecci, *L'Umanesimo e la 'Cioceria'* (Trani: Ditta Tipografica Editrice Vecchi, 1912), pp. 113-208; Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978), pp. 175-77; Concetta Bianca, 'Filetico, Martino', in *DBI*, XLVII (1997), 636-40; and Maria Agata Pincelli, 'Filetico, Martino', in *EO*, III, 226-27. On his commentary see section 2.1. See also Giovanni Mercati, 'Tre dettati universitari dell'umanista Martino Filetico sopra Persio, Giovenale ed Orazio', in *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honour of Edward Kennard Rand*, ed. by Leslie Webber Jones (New York: published by the editor, 1938), pp. 221-30; Carlo Dionisotti, '*Lavinia venit litora*. Polemica virgiliana di Martino Filetico', *IMU*, 1 (1958), 283-315; and Karsten Friis-Jensen, 'Commentaries on Horace's *Art of Poetry* in the Incunabular Period', *RS*, 9 (1995), 228-39.

⁴⁶ See David Chambers, 'Studium Urbis and Gabella Studii: the University of Rome in the Fifteenth Century', in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. by Cecil Clough (New York-Manchester: Zambelli-Manchester University Press, 1976), pp. 68-110 (pp. 78-85 and 94-95).

⁴⁷ See Emy Dell'Oro, 'Il *De poetis antiquis* di Martino Filetico', *Orpheus*, 4 (1983), 427-43 (p. 428 n. 3).

Theocritus, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal.⁴⁸ I will deal with his Horatian commentary in the next chapter, but for our purposes it is important that the manuscript containing this includes a transcription of Filetico's biography of the Latin author. This text is rather unique, not so much in terms of its content, but because it is the only humanistic life of Horace written in verse. In fact, Filetico's biography is a poem in elegiac couplets, composed of forty-two lines, in which Horace himself speaks in the first person and presents an account of his life to the readers. Scholars agree that Filetico probably composed this poetic biography during his second sojourn in Urbino in the early or mid 1460s;⁴⁹ during this period he devoted himself to the *otia litteraria* and composed his treatise *De viris illustribus*. Filetico's biography of Horace belongs to a larger work, entitled *De poetis antiquis*, a collection of poems in elegiac couplets dedicated to the life and works of famous poets of classical antiquity. The manuscript containing the whole work has never been found, but, as with Horace's biography, some of Filetico's lives of poets were preserved by being copied by later humanists at the beginning of their commentaries on classical authors.⁵⁰ In addition to Horace's life, we also have Filetico's lives of Virgil, Ovid, and Theocritus; we also know that Filetico wrote a biography of Homer, but this has not been found.⁵¹

Filetico's life of Horace mainly pursues the aim of portraying the poet as a virtuous and honest man whose verses bear witness to his morality and, as an implicit consequence, are worth reading and studying. At the beginning of the poem,

⁴⁸ See Mercati, 'Tre dettati universitari', p. 230; and Dell'Oro, 'Il *De poetis antiquis*', 430. See also section 2.1.

⁴⁹ See Dell'Oro, 'Il *De poetis antiquis*', 430 n. 18.

⁵⁰ See Pecci, *L'Umanesimo e la 'Cioceria'*, p. 149 n. 3.

⁵¹ Filetico's poetical biographies of Ovid, Virgil, Theocritus, and Horace, can be read in Dell'Oro, 'Il *De poetis antiquis*', 433-43.

Horace, after describing his birth and his father's humble profession, states that although he was not noble, he became famous and admired thanks to his virtues.⁵² Having sketched his physical and moral description (ll. 11-14), Horace mentions his studies in Rome and Athens (ll. 15-18). Before referring to his military service in Brutus's army (ll. 23-24), Horace mentions his affiliation with the Epicurean sect. Like Sicco, Filetico refers Horace's Epicurean leanings to the period the Latin poet spent in Athens (and in the lines that follow he hastens to specify that the poet later moved on to other philosophical doctrines). Therefore, Filetico indirectly suggests that Epicureanism was one of Horace's juvenile indiscretions, like his choice to follow Brutus against Augustus. Furthermore, in order to make Horace's link with Epicureanism more forgivable, Filetico has Horace present himself not as an Epicurean, but rather, in accordance with *Epist.* I, 1, 18, as a follower of Aristippus, a disciple of Epicurus, who was known for not applying his master's teachings to speculative matters. By referring to this detail, Filetico is able to allude to Horace's philosophical orientation without mentioning Epicurus by name, while at the same time attenuating any possible reproach contemporary humanists might have felt at the poet's embrace of Epicureanism. Aristippus's branch of Epicureanism, after all, appeared as the least shameful, since Aristippus did not apply Epicurus's ideas to metaphysical questions.⁵³

⁵² 'Non me nobilitas generis, sed plurima virtus / praeclarum toto reddit orbe virum' (ll. 9-10), Dell'Oro, 'Il *De poetis antiquis*', 442.

⁵³ On Aristippus see Gabriele Giannantoni, *I Cirenaici: raccolta delle fonti antiche, traduzione e studio introduttivo* (Florence: Sansoni, 1958), pp. 174-84; Michel Onfray, *L'invention du plaisir. Fragments cyrénaïques* (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2002); Pierre Gouirand, *Aristippe de Cyrène: le chien royal. Une morale du plaisir et de la liberté* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 2005); and Ugo Zilioli, *The Cyrenaics* (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 17-46.

In his biography Filetico makes constant use of evidence found in Horace's works. He largely bases Horace's imagined autobiography on *Sat.* I, 5 and I, 6, and on *Epist.* I, 1, I, 20 and II, 2. The importance of these texts is highlighted in the opening lines of Filetico's poem, where Horace invites those who want to know about his life and fortunes to read his verses.⁵⁴ However, in terms of sources, he combines Horace's corpus with Porphyry's text and Sicco's life of Horace, as mentioned above. Filetico's poem, in fact, includes details (such as the precise mention of the day of the poet's birth, and the reference to the fact that Horace was entombed close to Maecenas's sepulchre) that cannot have been drawn from sources other than Sicco's biography, the only text that records them. This bears witness to the circulation, appreciation, and fame of Sicco's work, despite its never having been printed. Moreover, again like Sicco, Filetico employs other sources in his biography to make his text more erudite, as his use of Eusebius's *Chronicon* testifies. In fact, at the end of Filetico's poem, Eusebius is exploited not simply for information on Horace's age at death, but also to state that during the poet's life-time sixteen Olympiads took place.

1.2 THE FIRST PRINTED BIOGRAPHIES

Five decades after the composition of Sicco's work and two after Filetico's, the Florentine Cristoforo Landino (1425-1498)⁵⁵ composed a short but very influential

⁵⁴ 'Si quis amat Quinti fortunam discere Flacci, / me legat' (ll. 1-2), Dell'Oro, 'Il *De poetis antiquis*', 442.

⁵⁵ On Landino's biography and a general overview of his works see Simona Foà, 'Landino, Cristoforo', in *DBI*, LXIII (2004), 428-33; Francesco Bausi, 'Landino, Cristoforo', in *EO*, III, 306-09; CURCIO, pp. 57-85; Carlo Dionisotti, 'Dante nel Quattrocento', in *Atti del congresso internazionale di studi danteschi, 20-27 aprile 1965*, 2 vols (Florence: Sansoni, 1965-1966), I, 333-78 (p. 364);

biography of Horace, the first of its kind composed during the humanistic era.⁵⁶ Having studied under Carlo Marsuppini, from 1458 Landino lectured at the University of Florence, the same university at which his teacher taught. He came under the protection of the Medici family and was a member of Marsilio Ficino's circle. Among his many works it is worth mentioning his collection of Latin poems, *Xandra* (1458), which, as we will see in chapter 5, were significantly influenced by Horatian models; the philosophical dialogue *Disputationes Camaldulenses* (1473); his Italian commentary on Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1480); and his Latin commentary on Virgil (1488). For several years, Landino lectured on various works by Horace. From 1459 to 1461, and again in 1470, Landino taught the *Odes* at the University of Florence; later, in 1464-65, he taught the *Art of Poetry*. His commentary on Horace can thus be considered the culmination of a long period of study dedicated to the Latin poet.⁵⁷

Landino's interest in Horace's biography dates to some years before the publication of his edition of Horace's work. Before composing the biography of Horace that adorned his 1482 commentary, Landino had already written a short biography of the Latin poet within his commentary on Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1481).⁵⁸ In discussing *Inf.* IV, 89, in which Horace is explicitly named among the other 'spiriti magni', he gives a short description of Horace's life. This brief comment is interesting for several reasons. First, it shows that, some years before the

Bernard Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1961), I, 71-81; Roberto Cardini, *La critica del Landino* (Florence: Sansoni, 1973); and Paolo Procaccioli, 'Introduzione', in Cristoforo Landino, *Comento sopra la Comedia*, ed. by Paolo Procaccioli, 4 vols. (Rome: Salerno, 2001), I, 9-105.

⁵⁶ *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera* (Florence: Antonio di Bartolomeo Miscomini, 1482 – APPENDIX [5]). Horace's biography can be read at fol. 6^r, from which all the quotations of Landino's biography of Horace are taken.

⁵⁷ For a more detailed description and analysis of Landino's commentary see section 2.1.

⁵⁸ See Landino, *Comento sopra la Comedia*, I, 423.

publication of his 1482 biography, Landino already rejected a number of traits of the medieval presentation of Horace, such as considering Horace as a *magister scaenae* (master of the theatre) or comparing Horace's odes to the Psalter, as Boccaccio did in his *Esposizioni*. Landino thus chose to reject medieval approaches in a genre in which ascribing medieval traits to classical authors was very common. Even in his life of Virgil (composed as part of his 1488 commentary on the Virgilian corpus) Landino does not indulge in the techniques normally used in medieval biographies. In doing so, he stands in contrast to many of his contemporaries; Pomponio Leto, to take one example, argues that the Horace had studied both medicine and magic.⁵⁹ Secondly, Landino's biographical note to *Inf.* IV, 89 is based on three main sources (the *Vita cruquiana III*, Eusebius's *Chronicon*, and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*), the first of which he also used extensively in his 1482 life.

Landino's biography of Horace is placed at the beginning of his 1482 commentary, just after Poliziano's Latin ode in homage of Landino's work and the prefatory letter to Guidobaldo da Montefeltro. The biography opens with a general remark on the ancient tradition of beginning a discussion of a poet's work by presenting an account of his life and then describing his works, taking account of titles, genres, and inner structures. Landino states that he wants to adopt this model because of its usefulness to the reader. He then remarks that one can become familiar with Horace's life 'ex quibusdam commentariolis brevissime scriptis, verum multo magis ex iis quae variis in locis ipse de se tradidit' (through certain very short commentaries and, much more, through what he [the poet] says of himself in various passages of his writings). Landino is alluding to his sources: the short biographies

⁵⁹ On medieval traits in the Renaissance biographies of Virgil see Zabughin, *Vergilio*, I, 161-63.

written by Porphyry and Pseudo-Acro – he was in fact familiar with the *Vita cruquiana II* and *III*, whereas he did not know Suetonius's text – and Horace's own poems.

Landino's main source of information is the *Vita cruquiana III*, which he combines with the information drawn from the autobiographical lines of *Sat. I, 6*. The only major difference in organization is that Landino moves the account of Horace's birth from the end of the biography, as in the *Vita cruquiana III*, to its beginning in order to maintain a clearer chronological order. Like Pseudo-Acro, after noting that Horace was born the sixth day after the Ides of December during the consulate of Torquatus and Manlius, Landino states the poet's father was a freedman who worked as an auctioneer. He then remarks that Horace moved to Athens where he studied philosophy, became an Epicurean, and decided to fight in Brutus's army during the civil war. He further notes that, thanks to Maecenas's aid, Octavian forgave the poet. Landino also repeats Pseudo-Acro's information that Horace probably died when he was seventy, despite others' assertion that he was in fact seventy-seven. In this Landino is probably mistaken, having confused the age reported by Eusebius (fifty-seven) with that of the *Vita cruquiana III*. Finally, Landino paints a moral and physical portrait of the poet modelled on that presented by Pseudo-Acro.

Along with these pseudo-Acronian details, however, Landino also offers other information derived from the poet's works, and in particular from *Sat. I, 6*. Indeed, following *Sat. I, 6, 46-68*, Landino claims that Horace was mocked for the low social status of his father, who, despite his position, took his son to be educated in Rome by

the best teachers (see *Sat.* I, 6, 72-75). Landino also remarks that Virgil and Varus introduced Horace to Maecenas (see *Sat.* I, 6, 55). In none of the three cases does Landino explicitly quote his source. We know, however, that he must have drawn these details from Horace's own works, as no ancient biographer focused on them. In other cases, Landino employs direct citations from the works of the poet. In so doing, he follows Porphyry's example, since Pseudo-Acro does not make use of this practice. Landino quotes 1) *Epist.* I, 1, 13-15 as evidence for Horace's decision to reject his early interest in the Epicureans in favour of precepts of the Platonic Academy; 2) *Epist.* II, 2, 51-52 to comment that Horace devoted himself to poetry after the defeat of Brutus's army at Philippi; and 3) *Sat.* I, 5, 49 to observe that the poet suffered from blurred vision. Landino's use of explicit quotations appears very shrewd and is very different from that found in Porphyry, who employed six citations in under two hundred and fifty words. Perhaps the Florentine biographer used these quotations to signal a turning point in the life of Horace. Aside from the third citation, which is more exegetical than informational, the other two highlight a significant moment of the poet's existence: his philosophical 'conversion' (at least, according to Landino's interpretation) and the beginning of a new existence after the civil war, in which Horace made the acquaintance of Maecenas and Augustus.

Landino's biography is remarkable from another point of view. The text is intentionally structured so as to portray Horace as a morally unimpeachable man and a poet worthy of being studied both for his philosophical teachings and his poetical mastery. The rhetorical strategy employed to reach this goal must be implicitly connected to the fact Landino wanted to present Horace, from the very beginning of his work, as an author worthy of being the object of an extensive commentary. First,

Landino states that Epicureanism fascinated Horace when he first arrived in Athens, because that philosophical sect was able to ensnare a young person with its precepts, but later, ‘cum deinde in maturiori aetate maturius iam consilium insurgeret’ (when, growing up, he grew wiser), the poet – Landino states – decided to abandon Epicureanism and ‘in academiam migravit’ (entered the [Platonic] Academy). Like Sicco, Landino here seeks both to present Horace’s Epicureanism as a mistake of judgment, and highlight (through his abundant rhetoric)⁶⁰ that, later, the poet was inspired by other philosophical principles. Secondly, while introducing his account of the civil war, Landino explains that, since Horace was a ‘libertatis amator’ (lover of freedom), he decided to follow Brutus. This is not the only trait of Horace’s personality that Landino places prominently at the centre of his biography. He also nonchalantly remarks that Horace was accepted among Maecenas’s close friends for the morality of his habits and delicacy of his speech, and he later stresses again these two facets of Horace’s nature when he remarks that, after Augustus offered him patronage, the poet could devote his time to the study of philosophy and poetry (again – for Landino – philosophy has the first position among Horace’s interests). The biographer then states that the poet lived the rest of his life in retirement and tranquillity, neither interested in nor praising any form of wealth.

After the account of his death and burial, Landino devotes a long paragraph to presenting Horace’s moral and physical portrait. Following Pseudo-Acro, he states that the poet was short, fat, bleary-eyed, and naturally inclined to lechery (though he

⁶⁰ One has just to think to the use of the polyptoton ‘*maturiori aetate maturius*’ or the construction of the paragraph: 1) main sentence (Horace moved from the Epicureanism to the Platonic Academy); 2) quotation of *Epist.* I, 1, 13-15 to prove this statement; 3) second sentence where Landino remarks the concept (‘*inter silvas Academiae quaerere verum*’ [he looked for the truth in the woods of the Academy]).

does not mention the *speculatum cubiculum*), and concludes his description by remarking that Horace ‘caeteris vero moribus integerrimus’ (was a man of the utmost integrity in all his other habits). Landino completes Horace’s portrait by again deriving traits of his personality from *Sat.* I, 6, thus presenting the poet as cautious in choosing his friends, but constant and attentive towards them; he adds that he lived frugally, avoiding any form of ostentation (see *Sat.* I, 6, 64-71). All this helps Landino to pursue what seems to be his main goal, that of presenting Horace to his readers as a model of morality and a master of philosophical teachings.

In 1492, ten years after the publication of Landino’s commentary, Antonio Mancinelli (1452-c. 1505)⁶¹ decided to re-organize a series of lectures on Horace, given in Rome in 1489, into a wide-ranging commentary.⁶² Mancinelli published his own commentary in Venice, together with those of Porphyry, Pseudo-Acro, and Landino. This edition of the Horatian texts, equipped with these four series of annotations, became a standard reference for several decades.⁶³ Antonio Mancinelli was considered one of the most important humanists of his time. He was born in Velletri, studied law and medicine in Perugia and Padua, and, from 1473 taught Latin

⁶¹ For a more detailed biography, see Remigio Sabbadini, ‘Antonio Mancinelli, grammatico del secolo xv’, in *Cronaca del Regio Ginnasio di Velletri, 1876-1877* (Velletri: [n. pub.], 1878), pp. 7-40; CURCIO, pp. 84-85; Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 254-55; Carla Mellidi, ‘Mancinelli, Antonio’, in *DBI*, LXVIII (2007), 450-53; and Donatella Coppini, ‘Mancinelli, Antonio’, in *EO*, III, 334-35.

⁶² See *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera* (Venice: Filippo Pinzi, 1492 – APPENDIX [11]. Mancinelli’s life of Horace can be read at fol. 2^r of this edition, from which all the quotations are taken. For a more detailed study of this commentary see section 2.2. The practise of combining his own commentary with those of others was not unusual for Mancinelli, whose Virgilian annotations, published on their own in 1490 in Rome, were printed with those of Servius, Calderini, and Landino in a 1491 edition of the works of the Mantuan poet, in accordance to a not unusual practice in 1490s print culture. See Mellidi, ‘Mancinelli, Antonio’, 451-52. In 1492 Mancinelli’s commentary to Juvenal was published in Venice by Giovanni Tacuino with those of Calderini and Valla.

⁶³ Mellidi (‘Mancinelli, Antonio’, 148) writes that ‘il commento oraziano [...] ebbe una vasta fortuna editoriale: accompagnò sempre quello di Landino, dello Pseudo Acrone e di Porfirione nelle edizioni incunabile, poi fu il solo a essere stampato insieme con quello di Iodoco Badio Ascensio, a Parigi, nel 1503 e 1511’.

language and literature in a grammar school in his birthplace. In 1486 he started lecturing at the *Studium Urbis* in Rome, where he attended Pomponio Leto's Academy. Before leaving Rome in 1491, he published his commentary on Virgil (1490), then he went to Venice, where he printed his commentaries on Horace (1492) and on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1494). He published several other editions of classical texts, along with his own scholarly works (among others, the *Lima quaedam Laurentii Vallensis*, after Valla's *Elegantiae*). He moved back to Rome in 1498 and died there in 1505.

In his commentary on Virgil, Mancinelli did not include a proper 'life' of Virgil, but instead, disseminated biographical information in his notes.⁶⁴ He chose, however, to open his 1492 edition of Horace with a biography of the poet. The main reference point for Mancinelli's biographical account can be identified in the *Vita cruquiana III*. This ancient biography was also the model for Landino's biography, which Mancinelli undoubtedly knew, but opted not to follow too closely. Mancinelli omits many of the points mentioned by Landino, such as the year of Horace's birth, the mockery he received because of his father's humble status, and Maecenas's donations to the poet, and cites other, minor aspects of Horace's life that Landino had neglected: in particular, Mancinelli mentions, explicitly citing Porphyry as his source, Horace's capture after the battle of Philippi. However, what most distances Mancinelli's biography not just from that of Landino but from all the others is his extensive and recurrent deployment of direct quotations from Horace's works to confirm his statements. Unlike Landino, who employs this device with moderation and only refers to three lines of the poet's works, Mancinelli's quotations are

⁶⁴ See Zabughin, *Vergilio*, I, 162.

extensive: his sixteen citations (equal to sixty lines of verse) make up more than half of the length of the biography. Every single sentence of Mancinelli's biography is explicitly justified by one or more passages from Horace. This strategy, together with the biography's strident concern for clarity and systematic orderliness, reflect the work's link with Mancinelli's Roman lectures.⁶⁵ This scholarly trend also appears in Mancinelli's treatment of other sources; as when he refers to Eusebius and Pseudo-Acro's texts to point out the incoherence of the ancient biographers on specific points of Horace's life, in this case the poet's age at his death.

The connections between Mancinelli and Landino's commentaries are more complex. In his biography, as in the rest of his commentary, Mancinelli tends to refer explicitly to all his sources. All, that is, except Landino, whose presence is constant in Mancinelli's account and annotations.⁶⁶ This complex relationship is revealed in a sentence in which Mancinelli refers to a minor detail of Horace's biography. In Mancinelli's statement 'Porphirio addit Horatium captum fuisse a Caesare' (Porphyry adds that Horace was captured by Augustus), we can deduce something more than the simple fact that Mancinelli made use of Porphyry's biography. The verb 'addit' implies that Porphyry reports in his account a piece of information neglected by the main source Mancinelli was following. I noted earlier that Mancinelli's model was the *Vita cruquiana III*, where this statement is omitted. It seems likely, however, that, while composing his life of Horace, Mancinelli had not only this text at hand, but also Landino's account. Given that in the preceding

⁶⁵ Mancinelli's lectures are also echoed in the notes of his commentary. See Coppini, 'Mancinelli, Antonio', 334. Coppini states that 'il commento manifesta il suo rapporto con la scuola (Mancinelli lesse Orazio a Roma) fin dalla lettera di dedica a Pomponio Leto'.

⁶⁶ See Coppini, 'Mancinelli, Antonio', 334. Of course, this is quite common in contemporary commentaries, e.g., Vellutello's commentary on Dante never mentions Landino, who, in turn, never really mentions the commentator Nidobeato.

passage Mancinelli quotes Landino, one can hypothesize that the mention of Porphyry's addition refers not to the *Vita cruquiana III*, but to Landino.

Like Landino, Mancinelli sought to portray Horace as a model of doctrine and behaviour, but he employed different strategies. In terms of moral and physical description, Mancinelli aligns himself with Pseudo-Acro, listing both the poet's features and the aspects of his temperament at the end of his biographical account, before the concluding remarks on his death. Mancinelli states that Horace was loved by his friends, frugal, modest, humble, and moderate, that he suffered from bleary eyes, and that he was irascible, but able to control his anger. Unlike Landino and Pseudo-Acro, however, Mancinelli mentions neither Horace's lustfulness, nor his Epicureanism. Indeed, Mancinelli does not deal in this passage with the poet's philosophical sympathies, but simply mentions Horace's proximity to the Platonic Academy in one of the passages he quotes to support his other statements (*Epist.* II, 2, 45). Mancinelli seems reluctant to give the impression that he associates the poet with any particular philosophical school, except for the Academy. Thus, in order to present the poet as an impeccable and irreproachable figure Mancinelli omits two aspects that other biographers considered as crucial.

Mancinelli's biography distances itself from Landino's account in another important respect. Unlike Landino, Mancinelli discusses Horace's literary innovations and his poetic models by adapting in his text the final paragraph of the *Vita cruquiana III*. Here, the anonymous author, like Porphyry, states that Horace imitated Alcaeus and Lucilius in his poetry. After surprisingly omitting the catalogue of the poet's works because 'in promptu est omnibus' (it is known to everyone), the

biographer remarks that Horace was the first Roman poet to translate into Latin the iambic verses of Archilochus. He quotes two passages from Horace (*Epist.* I, 19, 23-25, and *Ars P.* 79) and one from Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* X, 96) to substantiate this assertion. Later on, Mancinelli refers extensively to Quintilian. His *Institutio Oratoria* is used to support the claim that Horace can be considered the only lyric poet worth reading, and to explain the nature and origin of lyrical poetry. After a digression in which Mancinelli considers Pindar (defined as inimitable by Horace) as the first lyricist, Mancinelli closes this life by stating that Horace followed the poetic example of Alcaeus, whose work is briefly described with reference to a passage from Quintilian. It is significant that Mancinelli focuses only on the lyrical models of Horace, neglecting those poets, like Lucilius, whom he imitated in his satirical compositions. This is probably due to the fact that Mancinelli's attention is primarily directed to Horace's lyrical corpus, the only one he provided with annotations.

1.3 BIOGRAPHIES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Less than ten years after the publication of Mancinelli's treatise, the humanist Pietro Del Riccio Baldi, also known as Pietro Crinito (1476-1507),⁶⁷ composed a new Latin

⁶⁷ On Crinito, see Carlo Angeleri, 'Contributi biografici su l'umanista Pietro Crinito, allievo del Poliziano', *Rivista storica degli archivi toscani*, 5 (1933), 41-70; Id., 'Il Poliziano e il Crinito', in *Il Poliziano e il suo tempo. Atti del IV Convegno internazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Firenze, Palazzo Strozzi, 23-26 settembre 1954* (Florence: Sansoni, 1957), pp. 119-29; Id., *A proposito degli studi sul Crinito* (Florence: Olschki, 1960); Roberto Ricciardi, 'Del Riccio Baldi, Pietro', in *DBI*, XXXVIII (1990), 265-68; Francesco Bausi, 'Crinito, Pietro', in *EO*, III, 183-84; Carlo Vecce, 'La filologia e la tradizione umanistica', in *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, ed. by Armando Balduino, 10 vols (Padua-Milan: Piccin-Vallardi, 2007), VII (*Il Cinquecento*), 123-250 (pp. 145 and 201); Anna Mastrogianni, 'Einleitung', in Id., *Die 'Poemata' des Petrus Crinitus und ihre Horazimitation: Einleitung, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Münster: Lit, 2002), pp. 1-22; and Michaelangiola Marchiaro, *La biblioteca di Pietro Crinito. Manoscritti e libri a stampa della raccolta di un umanista fiorentino* (Porto: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales, 2013).

biography of Horace. Crinito was born in Florence, where he attended the lectures of Poliziano. One of Poliziano's last students, he was one of the most faithful to his teacher. After the death of his master, the uncertainties of the time forced Crinito to move to many cities to find a position as a university teacher. In less than a decade, he worked in Bologna, Ferrara, Naples, Rome, and Venice, before returning to Florence in the late 1490s thanks to the protection of the Rucellai family. He took part in the meetings of the *Orti Oricellari*, and collaborated with Manuzio in the publication of Poliziano's works (1498).⁶⁸ He composed important erudite works, such as the miscellaneous treatise *Commentarii de honesta disciplina* (1504) and the *Libri de poetis latinis* (1505),⁶⁹ along with a collection of Latin poems (*Poematum libri duo*), posthumously published in 1507 in Verona.⁷⁰ I will focus on Crinito's Horatian annotations and his Latin verses respectively in chapters 2 and 5; here, I will discuss Crinito's life of Horace.

Crinito's biography of Horace belongs to the third book of his *Libri de poetis latinis*, a history of Latin poetry in the form of a series of biographical accounts of ancient Roman poets listed in chronological order, from Livius Andronicus (III century BC) to Sidonius Apollinaris (IV century AD).⁷¹ In organizing his vast and erudite knowledge of classical literature in his *Libri*, Crinito undoubtedly had in mind the archetype of Suetonius's lost *De Poetis*, but he may have been also

⁶⁸ *Omnia opera Angeli Politiani et alia quaedam lectu digna* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, 1498).

⁶⁹ *Petri Criniti commentarii de honesta disciplina* (Florence: Giunti, 1504), and *Petri Criniti libri de poetis latinis* (Florence: Giunti, 1505). The former can be read in Pietro Crinito, *De honesta disciplina*, ed. by Carlo Angeleri (Rome: Bocca, 1955).

⁷⁰ *Petri Criniti poematum libri duo* (Verona: [n. pub.], 1507). Another edition appeared in 1520 without indication of place of printing, but scholars believe it was most likely published in Florence. See Bausi, 'Pietro Crinito', 183-84. This work can be read in Mastrogianni, *Die 'Poemata' des Petrus Crinitus*, pp. 25-149.

⁷¹ *Petri Criniti libri de poetis latinis* (Florence: Giunti, 1505). Horace's biography is the thirty-eighth life of the ninety-five present in Crinito's work. It can be read at fols 16^r-16^v.

influenced by more recent histories of Latin literature. Among others, we know that Crinito knew Sicco's *Scriptorum libri*, although not in their complete and final version,⁷² and several aspects of his life of Horace bear witness to this fact. Even if Crinito never explicitly mentions Sicco's work, he alludes to it when he notes that an unspecified author transcribed some letters in his biography and argued that they were sent to Horace by Augustus. We know these documents were quoted in Suetonius's biography, and that no one other than Sicco mentions them before 1548 (when the Suetonian text was published in Leiden by Peter Nannink). Crinito's references thus show that he must have read the letters in his copy of Sicco's biography of Horace.

Sicco's tendency to indulge in unnecessary digressions and arbitrary conjectures probably inspired a certain mistrust in Crinito. In fact, Crinito followed a rigorous methodology, based on meticulous documentation and a very faithful use of the sources. This mistrust may have led him to be particularly cautious of Sicco's mention of the emperor's letters to Horace. In fact, although Crinito reports that someone has considered these letters authentic, he openly disagrees with this assessment. Other elements in Crinito's biography also potentially point to Sicco's presence. For instance, both accounts attempt to link Horace's Epicureanism and his erotic intemperance, although only Sicco sees the two in terms of cause and effect. Moreover, when Crinito states that, thanks to his grace and studies, Horace wanted to

⁷² Crinito possessed a manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, *Riccard.* 121) containing the first eleven books of Sicco's *Scriptorum libri*. See Ullman, 'Introduction', p. xvi n. 3.

become more famous than the noblemen of his time, one can glimpse the echo of a passage from Sicco's account.⁷³

In general terms, however, Crinito's biography has many original elements, and it does not follow verbatim any of the previous lives of the poet. Thematically, the text is divided into two halves: the first is devoted to Horace's biography proper, and the second to a literary analysis of his works; there Crinito deals first with the literary models for each section of Horace's corpus, following the order of the Landinian catalogue, and then with those poets who were inspired by Horace. This division is similar to that employed by Mancinelli, but Crinito tries to merge the two parts of his account in order to give it a more uniform and homogeneous structure. After considering the works of the poet and their subsequent fortunes, Crinito devotes the final two sentences to sketching a brief physical description of Horace and concludes by discussing the year of his death. Although some of these elements recall previous writing on Horace, in dealing with the life of the poet, Crinito does not include all the details he could find in previous biographies. He is, instead, very selective in choosing which facts to present to his readers. Crinito does not, for example, mention the year of Horace's birth, but, instead displays his erudition by linking that moment with other Roman literary events. Thus he states that Horace was born a couple of years before Catiline's conspiracy, when in Rome Catullus, Calvus, and Cinna were famous among the poets, Cicero, Hortensius, and Catulus

⁷³ Crinito writes that Horace was 'erga amicos gratus atque officiosus, ut nobiliorum etiam studiis et gratia clarior in diem ac nobilior esset' (gracious and thoughtful toward his friends, so that even among more noble men of his day he was more famous and more noble, thanks also to his erudition); while Sicco (see *Scriptorum libri*, p. 91) states: 'litterarum in ludo ea diligentia, cura, ingenio versatus est quod [...] nec sibi aequales modo sed natu etiam maiores ac nobilium filios, qui et magistros et pedagogos haberent, studio et scientia superaret' (but in learning literature he used such diligence, care, and intelligence that [...] in terms of erudition and talent he not only exceeded his equals in age, but also those who were older than him, and even the sons of the noblemen who had their private teachers and pedagogues).

among the orators, and Varro and Nigidius among the philosophers.⁷⁴ Crinito makes no reference to the profession of Horace's father, nor does he mention the poet's move to Rome, or the detail of Horace's capture by Augustus and subsequent forgiveness. Though he alludes to Horace's lust,⁷⁵ he does not report the anecdote of the *speculatum cubiculum*. On the contrary, Crinito is the first biographer to linger on Horace's education, referring explicitly to his teacher in Rome, Orbilius Beneventanus (whom the poet mentions by name in *Epist.* II, 1, 71);⁷⁶ he is also the first to separate the physical and moral aspects of the poet's portrait. Indeed, Crinito's concluding remarks on the poet focus solely on his body traits, while Horace's moral characteristics are discussed at the beginning of his account. Crinito employs this scheme to present Horace in the most positive light possible. After stating that in Athens the poet embraced the Epicurean precepts, Crinito adds that Horace had obscene habits, and a certain animosity towards others, but he attenuates the negative effect of these vices through grammatical particles: Horace's behaviours are not *obscoeni* (obscene), but *subobscoeni* (partially obscene), and his anger manifests itself only *interdum* and *paulo* (sometimes and moderately).⁷⁷ Crinito then focuses his attention on Horace's many other positive qualities. First, he writes that Horace was highly appreciated by his friends (not only Maecenas, Varus, and Virgil – as Sicco, Landino, and Mancinelli do – but also Tibullus, Valgius, Florus, and Lollius). Crinito then notes that the poet was inspired by a certain desire for glory.

Here the biographer seems to refer to the pursuit not only of literary, but also military

⁷⁴ The catalogue reveals not only the ostentation of his erudition but also a larger tendency in Crinito's approach. Roberto Ricciardi ('Del Riccio Baldi, Pietro', 266) states that Crinito 'ha dell'antichità classica, specialmente latina, una visione più erudita che scientifica, e questo abito critico lo porta più a descrivere che a approfondire'.

⁷⁵ *Petri Criniti libri de poetis latinis*, fol. 16^r.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Zabughin remarks that, in his biography of Virgil, Crinito explicitly mentioned the names of the poet's teachers (*Vergilio*, I, 163).

⁷⁷ *Petri Criniti libri de poetis latinis*, fol. 16^r.

fame. In fact he says that the poet became military tribune and then captain of a legion.⁷⁸

Crinito states that Horace followed and then rejected Epicureanism but, unlike Landino, he does not mention that the poet entered the Platonic Academy. Perhaps, Crinito did not wish to give support to a notion for which he could not find any clear evidence in Horace's works. Only after mentioning Horace's friendship with Maecenas does Crinito briefly hint at the civil war and Horace's partisanship for Brutus, and then only by quoting a passage from one of Sidonius Apollinaris's poems (*carmen* 4, 9-10) in which Horace is remembered as the 'veniae auctor' (the apologist). No mention is made of any explicit act of repentance by Horace or any form of pardon by Augustus, and immediately afterwards Crinito returns to the poet's close relationship with Maecenas and the emperor. By sandwiching an aside that vaguely hints at the civil war between two references to the poet's close links with his patrons, Crinito is able to minimize the former while once again representing Horace as an almost flawless poet.

In the first half of his life, where he deals with the poet's biography, Crinito employs only four explicit quotations, two of which (*Sat.* II, 6, 40-42 and the excerpt from Sidonius) have already been mentioned.⁷⁹ In the second part of his text, devoted to Horace's literary models and poetics, the number of citations appreciably increases. Moreover, the aforementioned quotation from Sidonius Apollinaris already suggests that Crinito is not averse to making use of non-traditional

⁷⁸ *Petri Criniti libri de poetis latinis*, fol. 16^v.

⁷⁹ The other two explicit quotations are both derived from Horace's works (*Sat.* I, 6, 46; and *Epist.* I, 4, 15-16): the first is mentioned to testify to the mockery to which Horace was subjected, while the second attests to the poet's proximity to Epicureanism. See *Petri Criniti libri de poetis latinis*, fol. 16^r.

auctoritates to support his statements.⁸⁰ The authors the biographer mentions in the second half of his life prove this hypothesis. After listing the first three Horatian works (*Carmina*, *Epodes*, and *Carmen saeculare*) and reporting the aesthetic judgement of Quintilian of the poet's incisive iambic verses ('in scribendis iambicis mire efficax habitus est') and his pleasant and playful lyrical lines ('plenus est iocunditatis et gratiae'), Crinito reports two quotations praising Horace's texts and his metrical ability.⁸¹ The first passage is taken from the poem that Filomuso (i.e. Gianfrancesco Superchio) placed at the beginning of his 1490 edition of Horace,⁸² while the second is drawn from an epistle of Sidonius Apollinaris (*Epist.* IX, 13).

Crinito's work is also interesting for its metrical observations. For instance, Crinito concludes the paragraph devoted to the poet's lyrical compositions by reporting an observation of the ancient grammarian Diomedes (IV century AD): according to him, Horace employed nineteen different types of metre.⁸³ Furthermore, Crinito devotes a short section to the poet's hexametric production. Here he quotes only Quintilian, whose observation on Horace's terse hexameter is mentioned. Finally, the section on Horace's poetics concludes with a paragraph in which Crinito quotes first a passage from Ovid's *Tristia* (IV, 10, 49-50) to show that many poets loved Horace's texts and took inspiration from them, and, second, records Pliny the

⁸⁰ One must remember that the link between Crinito and Sidonius was quite strong: one of the first books the humanist studied under the guidance of his teacher, Paolo Sassi di Ronciglione, was Sidonius's *Epistulae*. In Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, *Laur.* XC. 18 (containing Sidonius's epistles) there are some manuscript glosses by Crinito, which dates back to 1489. See Ricciardi, 'Del Riccio Baldi, Pietro', 266-67. See also Michaelangiola Marchiaro, 'Un manoscritto di Sidonio Apollinare postillato da Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e da Pietro Crinito', *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 23 (2009), 279-90.

⁸¹ *Petri Criniti libri de poetis latinis*, fol. 16^v.

⁸² See APPENDIX [10]. Filomuso (who lived between the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of sixteenth century) edited the first edition of Horace's works together with the three commentaries of Porphyry, Pseudo-Acro and Landino.

⁸³ *Petri Criniti libri de poetis latinis*, fol. 16^v.

Younger's statement (*Epist.* IX, 22) that the poet Paulus Passenus composed some lyrics following Horace's forms and modes.⁸⁴

Crinito's *Libri de poetis latinis* inspired Lilio Gregorio Giraldi (1479-1552)⁸⁵ to compose another important history of classical literature, the *Historia poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum dialogi decem*. This dialogic work is not only an erudite dissertation on Latin poetry, but also the first complete history of ancient Greek poetry written during the Italian Renaissance.⁸⁶ Begun in the first decade of the sixteenth century, Giraldi's *Historia* was completed only after 1533 and was published in Basel for the first time in 1545.⁸⁷ At the beginning of the tenth and last dialogue of the *Historia*, Giambattista Piso, one of the interlocutors, explains which of the Latin poets introduced iambic and lyric verses in Rome. First, he reports three passages from Horace's works where the poet affirms he was the first Latin author to compose poems following the metrical schemes of Archilochus (iambics) and Alcaeus (lyric). Piso then notes that, before Horace, other poets, such as Catullus,

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ On Giraldi see Vittorio Rossi, 'Per la cronologia e il testo dei dialoghi *De poetis nostrorum temporum* di Lilio Gregorio Giraldi', *GSLI*, 37 (1901), 246-77; Elvira Magri, 'I carmi latini di Lilio Gregorio Giraldi nel codice I.371 della Biblioteca Ariostea', *LI*, 26 (1974), 64-82; François Secret, 'Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola, Lilio Gregorio Giraldi et l'alchimie', *BHR*, 38 (1976), 93-110; Danilo Romei, 'Tre episodi di un dibattito minore: Giraldi, Ariosto, Berni', in Id., *Berni e berneschi del Cinquecento* (Florence: Centro 2P, 1984), pp. 5-47; Monique Mund-Dopchie, 'Lilio Gregorio Gyraldi et sa contribution à l'histoire des tragiques grecs au XVI^e siècle', *HL*, 34 (1985), 137-49; Daniela Boccassini, 'Montaigne e Lelio Giraldi, tra Ferrara e Basilea', in *Montaigne e l'Italia. Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi di Milano-Lecco, 26-30 ottobre 1988* (Geneva-Moncalieri: Slatkine-Centro interuniversitario di ricerche sul viaggio in Italia, 1991), pp. 545-71; Rosanna Alhaique Pettinelli, *Tra antico e moderno. Roma nel primo Rinascimento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1991), pp. 9-62; Luca D'Ascia, 'I *Dialogismi XXX* di Lilio Gregorio Giraldi fra Bembo, Erasmo, Valla', *RLI*, 10 (1992), 599-619; Marcello Montalto, 'Sii grande e infelice'. *'Litteratorum infelicitas, miseria humanae condicionis' nel pensiero umanistico (1416-1527)* (Venice: Istituto Veneto di scienze lettere ed arti, 1998), pp. 99-127 and 181-85; Simona Foà, 'Giraldi, Lilio Gregorio', in *DBI*, LVI (2001), 452-55; and John Grant, 'Introduction', in Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *Modern Poets*, ed. by John Grant, The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA-London: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. vii-xxxv.

⁸⁶ See Foà, 'Giraldi, Lilio Gregorio', p. 453.

⁸⁷ Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *Historia poetarum tam Graecorum quam Latinorum dialogi x* (Basel: Michael Isengrin, 1545). This work was re-edited in Basel in 1580 by Tommaso Guarini and even a century later, in 1696, in Leiden.

Tegula, Lenas and Lucullus, used Greek iambic and lyric metres in their poetry; he concludes, however, that, since Horace was the first to have composed entire books with these metrical schemes, he can be correctly considered the founding father of lyrical and iambic verse in Latin literature.

Giraldi uses this discussion as the pretext to indulge in an exposition of the life of the poet.⁸⁸ The account is blunt and concise. Giraldi enriches Pseudo-Acro's biography with details drawn from Landino and Crinito. First, Giraldi states that Horace was born two years before the consulate of Cicero (a connection also made by Crinito); second, he states that the poet's father was an auctioneer, who brought his son to Rome, where he was educated by Orbilius (as Crinito also writes). Giraldi then discusses Horace's philosophical studies in Athens. Recording, like Landino, that Horace first elected to follow the Epicureans and then moved on to the Platonic Academy, the biographer argues that the poet is lying when he affirms, in a passage from his epistles (I, 1, 14, which Piso quotes), that he does not follow any precise philosophical sect. Horace, Piso declares, followed the Platonic Academy's principles. After this, Giraldi plainly mentions all the details the other biographers relate, such as Horace's closeness to Brutus during the civil war, Maecenas's intercession with Augustus, and Horace's long-lived friendship with his patrons.

Giraldi closes his life of Horace by sketching a brief portrait of the poet, without mentioning Horace's erotic intemperance, and remarks that, as Eusebius wrote, Horace died at the age of fifty-seven, and not seventy. The concluding paragraphs are devoted to Horace's corpus of works together with some aesthetic judgements, derived from Quintilian. Like Crinito, Giraldi notes that Diomedes

⁸⁸ Giraldi's biography of Horace can be read in Giraldi, *Historia poetarum*, pp. 1060-63.

described the lyrical metrics of the *Carmina*, but – he adds – these metrical descriptions can also be found in Maurus Honoratus's treatise and in those by other ancient grammarians. Another interesting consideration is that Giraldi is the first biographer to focus on a minor, albeit remarkable, detail, related to Horace's *Art of Poetry* (and, implicitly, to the debate about its literary genre). Giraldi recalls that in the past an unspecified writer associated the *Ars Poetica* with Horace's *Satires*, but argues that this view contradicts the poet's own suggestion of connecting the *Ars* with his *Epistles*.⁸⁹ Through this statement, probably attributed to Horace in order to give it greater authority, Giraldi subtly expresses his opinion regarding the literary genre to which the *Art of Poetry* belongs. Throughout the whole Cinquecento this question was debated,⁹⁰ and perhaps Giraldi wished to raise his voice in the dispute, even though his words do not seem polemical. This fits with the general attitude of Giraldi's biography, which, unlike those composed in the late fifteenth century and in the first decades of the sixteenth, does not aim to convey a particular moral portrait of Horace or to justify a long commentary on his works. It is instead mainly a biographical excursus, derived from a literary question within a wide-ranging erudite dissertation.

During the second half of the sixteenth century two other lives of the poet were composed. Interestingly, both were written in Italian. The first is the biography that the Italian polygraph Lodovico Dolce (1508-1568) printed at the beginning of his Italian translation of the Horatian *Sermones*, *Epistolae*, and *Ars poetica* (published in Venice in 1559) the first Italian translation of the whole Horatian hexametrical

⁸⁹ See Giraldi, *Historia poetarum*, p. 1063, 'artem poeticam sermonibus aliqui, vel epistolis potius ipse coniungit' (someone links the *Art of Poetry* with the *Satires*, but he (Horace) rather connects it with the *Epistles*).

⁹⁰ On this debate see section 2.4.

corpus.⁹¹ The second was written by Giovanni Fabrini da Figline (1516-1580) and printed in the opening pages of his Italian annotated edition of the whole corpus of Horace's works (1566).⁹² Dolce, the first Renaissance man of letters who wrote a biography of Horace in the Italian vernacular, follows Crinito's biography quite closely, to the extent that one could consider his life almost a translation of Crinito's text.⁹³ There are, however, significant differences between Dolce's biography and Crinito's. To begin with, several important points are omitted. Dolce neither includes in his biography the three direct quotations from Horace's work that Crinito makes, nor those drawn from the other authors (Sidonius Apollinaris, Filomuso, Persius, and Ovid). Moreover, since Dolce is not interested in commenting upon the aesthetic qualities of Horace's lyrical works, probably because he focuses on the translation only of Horace's hexametric compositions, he neither mentions Paulus Passienus, the

⁹¹ Lodovico Dolce, *I dilettevoli sermoni, altrimenti satire, e le morali epistole di Horatio, illustre poeta lirico, insieme con la Poetica. Ridotte da Messer Lodovico Dolce dal poema latino in versi sciolti volgari. Con la vita di Horatio. Origine della satira. Discorso sopra le satire. Discorso sopra le epistole. Discorso sopra la poetica* (Venice: Giolito, 1559). For a more specific analysis of this edition see section 3.1. On Dolce's biography see Emanuele Antonio Cicogna, 'Memoria intorno la vita e gli scritti di Messer Ludovico Dolce, letterato veneziano del secolo XVI', *Memorie dell'Istituto Reale Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 11 (1862), 93-200; Giovanni Romei, 'Dolce, Lodovico', in *DBI*, XL (1991), 399-405; Stefano Giazzon, *Venezia in coturno: Ludovico Dolce tragediografo (1543-1557)* (Rome: Aracne, 2011), pp. 9-16; and Aulo Greco, 'Dolce, Ludovico', in *EO*, III, 199. On his activity as translator see Mario Pozzi, 'L'"ut pictura poesis" in un dialogo di Ludovico Dolce', in Id., *Lingua e cultura del Cinquecento* (Padua: Liviana, 1975), pp. 1-22; Claudia Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere: lavoro intellettuale e mercato librario a Venezia nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1988); Luciana Borsetto, 'Scrittura, riscrittura, tipografia: l'"ufficio di tradurre" di Ludovico Dolce dentro e fuori la stamperia giolittiana', in *Il furto di Prometeo. Imitazione, scrittura, riscrittura nel Rinascimento* (Alessandria: Edizioni Dell'Orso, 1990), pp. 257-76; Id., *Tradurre Orazio, tradurre Virgilio. 'Eneide' e 'Ars poetica' nel Cinque e Seicento* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1996), pp. 221-77; Id., 'La Poetica d'Horatio tradotta. Contributo allo studio della ricezione oraziana tra Rinascimento e Barocco', in *OLI*, pp. 171-220 (pp. 174-83); and Anna Maria Grimaldi, 'L'Arte poetica nei commenti e nelle traduzioni del Cinquecento', in *OLI*, pp. 53-88 (pp. 77-86). See also section 3.1.

⁹² On Fabrini, see CURCIO, p. 167, Francesco Sarri, 'Giovanni Fabrini da Figline (1516-1580?)', *La Rinascita*, 2 (1939), 617-40, 3 (1940), 233-70, 4 (1941), 361-408; Raffaella Zaccaria, 'Fabrini, Giovanni', in *DBI*, XLIII (1993), 660-64; IURILLI, p. 62-63; Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 86-87; and Luciana Borsetto, 'Fabrini, Giovanni', in *EO*, III, 215-16. On his Horatian edition (*L'opere d'Oratio poeta lirico comentate da Giovanni Fabrini da Figline in lingua vulgare toscana [...] – APPENDIX [53]*), see section 2.3, and section 3.1.

⁹³ Dolce's biography of Horace can be read in Dolce, *I dilettevoli sermoni*, pp. 10-12.

imitator of Horace's lyrical poems cited by Crinito after Pliny the Younger, nor the letters of Augustus to the poet, considered spurious by Crinito. Furthermore, Dolce omits the mockery directed at Horace because of his father's profession and, more importantly, he does not follow Crinito in referring to the poet's Epicureanism. Instead, Dolce merely states that Horace 'non si accostò a veruna setta, hora seguendo liberamente uno, e quando un altro filosofo'.⁹⁴ This attitude is surprising, but consistent with the choice, adopted in Dolce's translations, of skipping entire lines of the *Satires* where the poet's words sounded too Epicurean.⁹⁵

On the other hand, the biographer mentions some details that his main source does not. For example, in order to make his text more understandable to a vernacular readership, Dolce adds both brief explanations of some particular terms (for instance, he describes what freedmen were, or the condition of bleary eyes) and simple glosses to clarify certain events or personalities (such as that Sallust wrote a history of Catiline's conspiracy, or that Tibullus was an elegiac poet). Dolce also introduces references to contemporary literary or aesthetic issues, as when he mentions that Horace's *Sermones* inspired Ariosto's *Satire*. Although the main reference point of Dolce's biography of Horace is Crinito, Dolce mentions him only once in the very final sentence of his biography, when he quotes Crinito to confirm that Horace died at the age of fifty-seven.

Fabrini's work on Horace contained both the original Latin poems as well as literal translations, together with a commentary in Italian. In his biography,⁹⁶ he decided to follow a similar compositional scheme, alternating Italian sentences with

⁹⁴ Dolce, *I dilettevoli sermoni*, p. 11.

⁹⁵ See section 3.1.

⁹⁶ Fabrini's biography of Horace can be read in Fabrini, *Le opere d'Oratio*, pp. 1-2

Latin quotations from the poet's works to support his statements with Horace's authority. Among the many biographies of the poet, Mancinelli's life, in which each sentence was attested by a Horatian quotation, was particularly well-suited to Fabrini's compositional technique. Probably on the basis of this principle, and on the formal proximity of his approach with Mancinelli's, Fabrini chose to model his life of the Latin poet on Mancinelli's biography. Like Dolce, Fabrini never mentions Mancinelli as his source; he simply justifies the scheme of his account, brim-full of citations, by stating that 'niuno può render miglior conto d'alcuna cosa che colui che l'ha fatta'.⁹⁷ Although Fabrini employs only three-quarters of the sixteen quotations Mancinelli uses in his biography (and some of the longest ones are not quoted in full), he follows his source with care in nearly all other aspects.

An interesting point of departure concerns Fabrini's omissions. For instance, Fabrini does not follow Mancinelli in the case of Horace's capture by Augustus, or Maecenas's intervention to reconcile the poet with the emperor. This choice was probably due to internal reasons of coherence, rather than to a lack of trust in his model. Just before and after the passage on Horace's imprisonment, Mancinelli's text (and consequently that of Fabrini) focused on Horace's friendship with Maecenas and with other members of the Roman elite. Since the omitted sentence referred to something (i.e. Horace's forgiveness by Augustus and his integration in the highest circles of Rome), which was implicit in the following reference to Horace's noble friends, Fabrini probably decided to give more homogeneity to his text and remove an unnecessary aside by joining the two sections (before and after the omission) that referred to the common theme of friendship. Fabrini also leaves out Mancinelli's

⁹⁷ Fabrini, *Le opere d'Oratio*, p. 1.

conclusive remarks on Horace's literary sources and poetical innovations. Fabrini probably considered these details as meaningless for a public which, unlike Mancinelli's audience, was not able to access the original Latin texts quoted by Mancinelli. Unlike Mancinelli's work, addressed to a Latin-learned public, Fabrini's work was mainly addressed to those who did not know Latin or were learning it.

CONCLUSION

The eight lives of Horace examined in this chapter are quite wide-ranging chronologically (1427-1566) and diverse in terms of approach, language, and audience. Nonetheless, they form two main groups in terms of models used: the first group encompasses the biographies composed by Sicco, Filetico, Crinito, and Dolce; the second those written by Landino, Mancinelli, and Fabrini. Giraldi's text, which is more independent, can be linked with both Crinito and Landino's biographies. Indeed, the Latin life of Landino (1482) was the reference point for that of Mancinelli (1492), which, in turn, was the undisputed basis of Fabrini's Italian account (1566). The other vernacular life, composed by Dolce (1559), is, instead, primarily drawn from that of Crinito (1503), which was influenced, as that by Filetico (1460s), by Sicco's text (1427-1433).

Although the eight biographies can be differentiated with regard to content and sources, they can also be seen as a single group. All eight texts primarily intended to offer a biographical portrait of Horace as a historical figure of his time, in contrast to those written in the Middle Ages. Also, despite the obvious differences in style, all these biographies aim to describe Horace in the most positive light possible,

in order to present him as a model of virtue and doctrine. This main aim was pursued either to justify a larger literary operation regarding his works (such as in the case of Landino and Mancinelli's commentaries, and Dolce and Fabrini's translations), or to contribute to the general revaluation of Horace's texts, whose refinement and morality found a counterpart in the deeds presented in the poet's biography (such as in Sicco, Filetico, Crinito, and Giraldis's cases).

The fifteenth-century Latin lives of the poet were very influential in the Cinquecento (aside from that of Sicco, which was never printed and circulated only in manuscript). After its first publication in 1482, Landino's annotated edition of Horace (accompanied by his biography) had immediate success and was reprinted twenty-one times in the following decades.⁹⁸ Its fortune was progressively overshadowed during the late 1510s by the increasing fame of and appreciation for Mancinelli's biography of Horace. This text had an even more formidable reception history, since it was re-published not only several times during the Quattrocento, but also in the following century alongside that of Crinito.⁹⁹ However, among the Renaissance lives of Horace, the most often printed was that of Crinito. After its first appearance in the Florentine Giunti edition of 1503, Aldo Manuzio published it in 1519 in a reprint of his 1501 edition of Horace (which had not been accompanied by any biography). Crinito's biography then appeared more than fifteen times throughout the sixteenth century both in Italian and French editions. This success

⁹⁸ See IURILLI, p. 269.

⁹⁹ See, for example, *Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera cum quattuor commentariis Acronis, Porphirionis Mancinelli, Iodoci Badii Ascensii cumque adnotationibus Matthae Bonfinis et Aldi Manutii Romani recognitis* (Paris: Iodocus Badius Ascensio, 1519); *Quinti Horatii Flacci poetae Venusini omnia Poemata [...]* (Venice: Girolamo Scoto, 1544 – see APPENDIX [38]); and the re-edition of this last work (Venice: Giovanni Maria Bonello, 1562). I will discuss Scoto's commentary in the following chapter, section 2.2.

could be due to different factors. First, unlike Landino's life, which formed part of a continuous commentary on Horace's works, Crinito's biography was perceived as completely separate from the *Libri de poetis latinis*, of which it was a part. The association with both Giunti and Manuzio's editions of Horace certainly contributed to its fame. Moreover, it must have been considered as the most appropriate in terms of content too, since it was even included in the 1569 expurgated edition of Horace published by the Jesuits.¹⁰⁰ Having been translated by Dolce and included in his Italian version of the Horatian hexametrical production (1559), it reached those who could not read Latin. Among vernacular readers, however, Fabrini's adaptation of Mancinelli's life had greater popularity, if one considers that in the Cinquecento his text was printed not once (1566), as with Dolce's work, but an additional three times (in 1573, 1581, and 1599). Finally, Giraldi's Latin life of Horace enjoyed some measure of popularity: after having been printed twice (in 1545 and 1580) within Giraldi's *Historia poetarum*, it was published once as a detached text at the opening of a Venetian 1584 edition of the works of Horace.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *Quintus Horatius Flaccus ab omni obscoenitate purgatus. Ad usum Gymnasiorum Societatis Iesu. Aldi Manutii de metris horatianis. Eiusdem annotationes in Horatium* (Rome: Vittorio Eliano, 1569 – APPENDIX [55]).

¹⁰¹ See APPENDIX [60].

2. RENAISSANCE COMMENTATORS OF HORACE

This chapter analyses the exegetical works on Horace's Latin poetry in the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. I will deal with different typologies of exegetical material, such as scholia, glosses, annotations, paraphrases, and thoroughgoing commentaries, analysing both those dedicated to the whole Horatian corpus, and those devoted to a single work. I will mainly consider printed commentaries, but will include manuscript material, when its content proves to be particularly relevant. These commentaries and commented editions are highly important for understanding which interpretations of the Latin poet were being advanced and filtered to Renaissance readers, who approached Horace mainly through commented texts. Although my concern is primarily with the Cinquecento, I will start this chapter by briefly examining fifteenth-century commentaries on Horace in order to understand what material the *literati* of the sixteenth century had at their disposal and how they furthered their understanding of the Horatian texts. In the paragraphs devoted to the early and mid Quattrocento, I will also consider the theme of Horace as a subject of study at universities, mainly because those who commented on his works in those decades were university professors who lectured on his works. A detailed study of the presence of Horace in the late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century classroom, however, falls outside the scope of this investigation.

The chapter has four main sections. First, I will study the exegetical fortune of Horace in the late Quattrocento and focus on Landino's seminal commentary (2.1). Secondly, I will analyse several exegetical texts devoted to Horace between the 1490s and the 1540s, considering their evolution in terms of structure and content. Specific attention will be paid to the production of multiple commentary editions. A key text will be 1544 edition by the Venetian Girolamo Scoto, which gathered together seventeen exegetes of Horace (2.2). I will then focus on the commentaries composed from the mid-1540s onwards, paying attention to those works that were not devoted to the *Ars Poetica* (2.3). In this section I will question the commonly accepted idea that, after the appearance of Scoto's edition, Italian humanists produced no noteworthy exegetical texts on Horace beyond those dedicated to the *Epistle to the Pisones*. Finally, I will analyse the exegetical texts dedicated to this latter work, whose centrality in the second half of the sixteenth century is unquestioned (2.4). I will consider both those commentaries composed before the revival of the Aristotelian *Poetics*, and those that were written after the recovery of Aristotle began to influence readings and interpretations of the Horatian *Art of Poetry*. In this section I will not refer to Renaissance poetical treatises because they are independent critical works on poetics and cannot be considered as commentaries on the Horatian epistle.

2.1 THE EXEGETICAL FORTUNE OF HORACE IN THE LATE QUATTROCENTO

Unlike other Latin authors, whose texts were commented on and taught in many Italian schools and universities, Horace was of more limited interest to the early fifteenth-century humanists. He was generally known as a gnomic poet, but early- and mid-fifteenth-century scholars accorded him little attention from a pedagogical point of view. There were some exceptions: Niccolò Niccoli, for example, stated at the beginning of the Quattrocento that he considered only four classical authors beyond reproach, among them Horace.¹ Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446) seems to have been the only pedagogue who made use of Horace in the 1430s,² whereas in the following two decades the Latin poet received praise only from Sicco Polenton in Padua,³ and Angelo Decembrio (1415-1467) and Battista Guarino (1435-1513) in Ferrara.⁴ There were several reasons for this relative lack of interest during the first half of the Quattrocento: some of Horace's literary genres (such as the urban satire) did not have an immediate relevance for the public life of service to the state, considered the main purpose of humanist education, and in any case humanists were using different classical models, such as Ovid and Catullus, to teach and learn how to compose poetical epistles and lyrical poems.⁵ Moreover, the difficulty of understanding the lyrical metres employed by the Latin poet in his *Carmina* was certainly a further reason for this general neglect. In spite of the number of literary

¹ See CURCIO, p. 50. According to Niccoli, the other three irreproachable classical authors were Plato, Virgil, and Jerome.

² See Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy. Literacy and Learning 1300-1600* (Baltimore-London: Johns Hopkins University Press), p. 253; and IURILLI, p. 31.

³ Sicco's appreciation of Horace was discussed and analysed in the previous chapter, section 1.1. See also CURCIO, pp. 48-50; and IURILLI, p. 31.

⁴ See IURILLI, pp. 30-31; and Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 203-204.

⁵ See CURCIO, pp. 50-51; and Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p. 253.

commentaries composed in the first half of the fifteenth century (among others, Gasparino Barzizza on Terence, Seneca and Cicero; Guarino Veronese on Persius; Ognibene da Longino on Lucan and Juvenal; and Lorenzo Valla on Quintilian), no humanist decided to comment upon the works of Horace.

It was only after the composition of Niccolò Perotti's metrical treatise *De metris* (also known as *De generibus metrorum*, 1453) – which clearly explained the precepts of classical metrics on the basis of Servius's *De centum metris* – and, above all, after the publication of Perotti's second metrical treatise, *De metris horatianis*, specifically devoted to the Horatian lyrical metres,⁶ that Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes* become more understandable and, consequently, better appreciated.⁷ The attribution of a commentary on the Horatian *Carmina* to Perotti has been shown to be incorrect.⁸ It is still unknown whether Perotti lectured on Horace while teaching at the University of Bologna, but the fact that two of his pupils, Ludovico Carboni and

⁶ Perotti's treatise combines a dissertation on Horace's metrics with one on that of Boethius, and has been labelled under different titles: *De generibus metrorum quibus Horatius et Boethius usi sunt*; *Liber de ratione carminum quibus Horatius et Boethius usi sunt*; *De Horatii et Boethii metris*. On Perotti's metrical interests see Giovanni Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti arcivescovo di Siponto* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1925); Ubaldo Pizzani, 'I metri di Boezio nell'interpretazione di Niccolò Perotti', *RPL*, 8 (1985), 245-53; and Jean-Louis Charlet, 'Etat présent des études sur Niccolò Perotti', in *Umanesimo fanese nel '400. Atti del Convegno di Studi nel quinto centenario della morte di Antonio Costanzi* (Fano: Fortuna Offset, 1993), pp. 69-112. On Perotti see CURCIO, pp. 51-52; IURILLI, pp. 28-29; Gianni Ballistreri, 'Orazio tra Medioevo e Rinascimento', in *Horatianum: Centro Internazionale di Studi Oraziani in Mandela. Atti del VII Convegno di Studio* (Rome: Horatianum, 1974), pp. 9-18 (p. 12); Jean-Louis Charlet, 'Un humaniste trop peu connu, Niccolò Perotti: Prolégomènes à une nouvelle édition du *Cornu copiae*', *Revue des études latines*, 65 (1987), 210-27; Marianne Pade, 'Neo-Latin Grammars—Niccolo Perotti's *Rudimenta grammatices*', in *BENLW*, II, 1056-57; and Id., 'Perotti's *Cornucopiae*', in *BENLW*, II, 1126-28.

⁷ See CURCIO, pp. 50-52; Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita*, pp. 25, 27 and 29; Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p. 253; and Robert Black, *Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy. Tradition and Innovation in Latin Schools from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 318-20. For a general overview on Neo-Latin metrics see Philip J. Ford, 'Neo-Latin Prosody and Versification', in *BENLW*, I, 63-74.

⁸ See Sandro Boldrini, 'Perotti, Niccolò', in *EO*, III, 403-04. The fact that Perotti wrote a commentary to the Horatian *Odes* was advocated by Ballistreri, 'Orazio tra Medioevo e Rinascimento', p. 12; and Georg Voigt, *Il risorgimento dell'antichità classica ovvero il primo secolo dell'umanesimo*, trans. Domenico Valbusa, 5 vols (Florence: Sansoni, 1888-1897), II, 384 n. 1.

Antonio Urceo Codro, took Horace as their poetical model could possibly be linked to lessons by their teacher on the Latin poet.⁹

In the middle decades of the century, Horace's texts progressively became a more popular subject of educational and exegetical interest. During the 1460s two humanists lectured on the Latin poet. In Verona, Antonio Brognanigo (Broianico), pupil of Guarino, taught on Horace before 1468,¹⁰ while in Rome Antonio Calcillo (c. 1400-c. 1475) delivered lectures on the *Carmina*, *Epodes*, and *Carmen saeculare* at the Roman *studium* during the academic year 1465-1466.¹¹ Calcillo closely followed the commentaries of Pseudo-Acro and Porphyry, offering only a few explanations of particularly difficult geographical, historical or poetic terms. The sources upon which Calcillo based his notes were the two exegetical texts bequeathed to the Renaissance by late antiquity. Pseudo-Acro primarily offered linguistic glosses to the text as well as insights on the characters mentioned by Horace, and explained historical events, cultural practices and geographical names.¹² Porphyry's commentary mainly dealt with grammatical, syntactical, etymological

⁹ See CURCIO, p. 54. On Perotti's teaching at the University of Bologna see *I lettori di retorica e 'humanae litterae' allo Studio di Bologna nei secoli XV-XVI*, ed. by Loredana Chines (Bologna: Il Nove, 1991), pp. 48-50. Carboni's and Codro's poetical production will be analysed in section 5.3.

¹⁰ For this dating see Guglielmo Gorni, 'Brognanigo, Antonio', in *DBI*, XIV (1972), 443-44.

¹¹ See Giuseppe Carafa, *De Gymnasio Romano et de eius professoribus*, 2 vols (Rome: Antonio Fulgoni, 1751, repr. Bologna: Forni, 1971), I, 305; CURCIO, p. 46; Antonio Altamura, *L'Umanesimo nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia* (Florence: Oschki, 1941), pp. 42-46; Roberto Ricciarci, 'Angelo Poliziano, Giuniano Maio, Antonio Calcidio', *Rinascimento*, 8 (1968), 284-309; Giovanni Parenti, 'Calcillo, Antonio', in *DBI*, XVI (1973), 525-26; and Alessandro Ottaviani, 'Calcillo, Antonio', in *EO*, III, 149-50.

¹² The commentary attributed to the late-second-century grammarian Helenius Acro is not entirely authentic. Among the glosses labelled under his name there is a 'shifty agglomeration of material from a variety of sources' (Robin Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book I* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970], p. xlix), a series of annotations composed by many anonymous late-antiquity and medieval glossators. For this reason modern critics prefer to refer to these scholia as those by Pseudo-Acro. On this commentary see Stephan Borzsák, 'Esegesi antica', in *EO*, III, 17-23 (pp. 19 and 21-22); Gottfried Noske, *Quaestiones Pseudacronae* (Munich: privately printed, 1969); Martin Schanz and Carl Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Munich: Krüger, 1890, repr. Munich: Beck, 1922), pp. 166-68; and István Borzsák, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Horaz', *Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 20 (1972), 77-93.

issues in a plain and prosaic way, although he sometimes indulged in acute annotations regarding metrics, rhetoric and aesthetics.¹³ The teachings of Broianico and Calcillo are preserved in some manuscript commentaries (either drafted by the teacher himself, or written by students as *recollectae* during their classes).¹⁴ In the same *Studium Urbis* in which Calcillo lectured, Martino da Filettino (called Filetico) (1430-c. 1490) also devoted one of his courses to Horace. He lectured in 1470-1471 on the *Art of Poetry* and, as the notes taken by one of his students and now preserved in a manuscript of the Vatican Library testify, focused mainly on a close reading of the poetical text. He did not follow a philological approach, and therefore did not discuss any variant reading of the poem, but he showed a strong interest in mythology and etymology, for which used his expertise in ancient Greek.¹⁵

Despite the links between the *Studium Urbis* and the first Roman printing press,¹⁶ neither Filetico's commentary nor that of Calcillo were printed.¹⁷ It is likely that the lack of both perspicacity and in-depth analysis in their works discouraged editors from publishing their commentaries. Nevertheless, a contributory factor was

¹³ See Borzsák, 'Esegesi antica', pp. 19-21. Alfred Gudeman (*Grundriss der Geschichte der klassischen Philologie*, 2nd Ed. [Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, 1909], p. 136) remembers Porphyry's text we read is a mutilated version of the commentary the scholiast wrote.

¹⁴ For Brognanigo's, commentary see Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Ambrosiana, R 32 sup. On this manuscript see Remigio Sabbadini, 'Spogli ambrosiani latini', *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 11 (1903), 318-21. For Calcidio's commentary see Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 2769, fols 1-82; and Ottaviani, 'Calcillo, Antonio', 149-50. On those commentaries linked to university lectures see Francesco Lo Monaco, 'Alcune osservazioni sui commenti umanistici ai classici nel secondo Quattrocento', in *Il commento ai testi. Atti del seminario di Ascona, 2-9 Ottobre 1989*, ed. by Ottavio Besomi and Carlo Caruso (Basel-Boston-Berlin: Birkhauser, 1992), pp. 103-39 (pp. 115-16).

¹⁵ The manuscript of Filetico's notes is: Vatican City, BAV, Ottob. Lat. 1256. On this manuscript see *Codices horatiani in Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*, ed. by Marco Buonocore (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1992), p. 83. On Filetico see above, section 1.1.

¹⁶ See Maria Grazia Blasio, 'Lo *Studium Urbis* e la produzione romana a stampa: i corsi di retorica, latino e greco', in *Un pontificato ed una città: Sisto IV (1471-1484). Atti del Convegno (dicembre 1984)* (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 1986), pp. 481-501.

¹⁷ See IURILLI, p. 24. See also Maurizio Campanelli and Maria Agata, 'La lettura dei classici nello *Studium Urbis* tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento', in *Storia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia de La Sapienza*, ed. by Lidia Capo e Maria Rosa Di Simone (Rome: Viella, 2000), pp. 93-195.

that Giovanni Alvisi Toscani, editor of the first Roman edition of Horace (1474-1475 – APPENDIX [3]), wished to publish the lyrical texts of the Latin poet without scholastic annotations and surrounded instead by those of the ancient commentators, as he explicitly stated in the preface to the volume. This edition is important for two reasons. Firstly, even if it is not the *editio princeps* of the Horatian corpus (Venice, 1471 – APPENDIX [1]), it is the first edition to include the complete scholia of both Pseudo-Acro and Porphyry.¹⁸ Secondly, from the point of view of *mise-en-page* Toscani's edition is the first to place the respective notes of the two classical scholiasts after each lyrical composition, in contrast to previous editions where the notes of the ancient commentators were printed as a continuous text in a separate volume (see Zarotto's 1474 edition, where the second volume consists of Pseudo-Acro's text – APPENDIX [2]). Toscani's choice thus partially aided comprehension of the texts. It was only some years later that print technology was able to print the poetic text surrounded by commentary. Michele Manzolo published the first Horatian edition of this kind in Treviso in 1481 (APPENDIX [4]): the pseudo-Acronian glosses flow around the text, while those of Porphyry are printed in continuous form in a detached section at the beginning of the volume. Nevertheless, these different practices did not greatly affect exegesis: they were mainly market choices made by the printer or the editor.¹⁹

¹⁸ Although Lo Monaco does not deal specifically with Toscani's volume, nor with the 1480s Roman milieu, he generally observed that 'l'interesse dei grammatici umanistici, insoddisfatti di un tipo di attività ermeneutica che si era indubbiamente insterilita e semplificata rispetto ai precedenti [...] puntava ora direttamente al recupero della tradizione più antica' ('Alcune osservazioni', pp. 106-107).

¹⁹ See Lo Monaco, 'Alcune osservazioni', pp. 130-31 and n. 51. See also Jan Bloemendal and Henk J. M. Nellen, 'Philology: Editions and Editorial Practices in the Early Modern Period', in *BENLW*, I, 185-206.

As this account shows, then, from the late 1460s Horace progressively occupied a more prominent position in the humanistic curriculum,²⁰ and by the end of the century he was considered one of the major authorities in proper style, poetic elegance, and moral doctrine.²¹ In the Cinquecento the Latin poet was completely integrated into school and university programmes, both lay and religious.²² Horace's importance as an author to be studied and imitated was given a still more official character by his inclusion as a rhetorical authority in the Jesuits' curriculum (both in the earlier syllabus of the 1550s and in the definitive 'Ratio Studiorum' of 1599),²³ and in the programme of the Collegio Greco, established in Rome by Pope Gregory XIII in 1577.²⁴ This revival was made possible by the development of a new pedagogical curriculum in the second half of the Quattrocento and thus by new critical attention paid to the Latin poet.²⁵ The first significant turning point in this process and, at the same time, the history of the Horatian exegetical practice of the Italian Renaissance is Cristoforo Landino's 1482 commentary on Horace. This was the first thoroughgoing and insightful analysis of the whole corpus of the Latin author, and Landino emphasized more eloquently than any before him the importance of Horace as an authority to be studied for his wisdom and pure style.

Landino's commentary was printed in Florence by Antonio Miscomini (APPENDIX [5]), and was the outcome of an almost long-life relationship with

²⁰ See Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 252-253; and Black, *Humanism and Education*, p. 274.

²¹ See Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p. 254.

²² See Paul F. Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore-London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 236-40.

²³ See Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p. 379; and IURILLI, p. 46.

²⁴ See IURILLI, p. 46.

²⁵ See as a general reference Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 133-141.

Horace as teacher and poet.²⁶ It was the third exegetical text Landino published, after those on Virgil's *Aeneid*, written in Latin (1472), and Dante's *Comedy*, in Italian (1481).²⁷ Landino considered these three poets, as he explicitly stated in the 'Praefatio' to Horace, to be a triad of poetic excellence, worthier than others of being analysed in depth.²⁸ While Landino's interpretation of Virgil's poem was mainly allegorical, and that of Dante's largely intended to show the poet's 'ingenium' and 'artificium', his annotations on Horatian texts appear more critical-rhetorical, aimed at examining and explaining the 'sapientia' of the author, his poetical features, the 'dispositio' of his utterance, and his style.²⁹ Landino did not wish to present Horace

²⁶ Landino's interest in Horace dated back to his youth. He studied and intensely annotated the *Epistles* and the *Art of Poetry* from 1443, when his first Maecenas, Francesco d'Altobianco degli Alberti, presented him with a manuscript of these two works. For a general overview of Landino's commentary to Horace see CURCIO, pp. 57-85; Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 71-81; Francesca Niutta, 'Da Antonio Zarotto a Bentley. Commenti, annotazioni, scoli', in *PCL*, pp. 18-48 (pp. 21-23); IURILLI, pp. 32-34; Bausi, 'Landino, Cristoforo', 307-09; and Ann Moss, 'Horace in the Sixteenth Century: Commentators into Critics', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, III (*The Renaissance*), 67-76. On Landino's biography see section 1.2.

²⁷ On Landino's commentary to Virgil see Arthur Field, 'An Inaugural Oration by Cristoforo Landino in Praise of Virgil (From Codex '2', Casa Cavalli, Ravenna)', *Rinascimento*, 21 (1981), 235-45; Craig Kallendorf, 'Cristoforo Landino's *Aeneid* and the Humanist Critical Tradition', *RQ*, 36.4 (1983), 519-46; and Id., "'You are my master". Dante and the Virgil Criticism of Cristoforo Landino', in *In Praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic Rhetoric in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover, NH-London: University Press of New England, 1989), pp. 129-65. On Landino's commentary on Dante see Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, pp. 163-230; Cardini, *La critica del Landino*, pp. 113-232; Id., 'Landino e Dante', *Rinascimento*, 30 (1990), 175-90; Paolo Procaccioli, *Filologia ed esegesi dantesca nel Quattrocento. L'Inferno nel 'Comento sopra la Comedia' di Cristoforo Landino* (Florence: Olschki, 1989); Id., 'Introduzione', pp. 9-105; Deborah Parker, *Commentary and Ideology: Dante in the Renaissance* (Durham-London: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 75-85; Francesco La Brasca, 'Tradition exégétique et vulgarisation néoplatonicienne dans la partie doctrinale du commentaire dantesque de C. Landino', in *Culture et société en Italie du moyen-âge à la Renaissance. Hommage à André Rochon* (Paris: Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 1985), pp. 117-29; Id., 'L'humanisme vulgaire et la genèse de la critique littéraire: Étude descriptive du commentaire dantesque de Cristoforo Landino', *Chroniques italiennes*, 6 (1986), 3-96; and Id., 'Du prototype à l'archétype: lecture allégorique et réécriture de Dante dans et par le commentaire de Cristoforo Landino', in *Scritture di scrittura: Testi, generi, modelli nel Rinascimento*, ed. by Giancarlo Mazzacurati and Michel Plaisance (Rome: Bulzoni, 1987), pp. 67-107.

²⁸ 'Tres mihi ex omni numero poetas delegi, quorum interpretationes scribundas suscipirem: ex Latinis quidem Publium Virgilium Maronem atque Quintum Horatium Flaccum, ex Florentinis autem [...] Alegherium Dantem assumpsi' (among all the poets I chose for myself three of them, by undertaking the commitment of commenting them: from the Latin poets I selected with certainty Virgil and Horace, from the Florentine ones Dante). See Cristoforo Landino, *Scritti critici e teorici*, ed. by Roberto Cardini, 2 vols (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974), I, 198.

²⁹ 'Sapientiam huius poetae in rebus ipsis inveniendis et mirificum consilium atque artificum in singulis disponiendis atque ornandis' (Landino, *Scritti critici*, I, 198).

simply as the sage author of the gnomic art, but rather as the preceptor and master of poetical elegance, whose texts needed to be considered as key parts of the new humanistic pedagogical curriculum. Landino was very clear on these points in his Preface, where he stated that studying the Horatian corpus was fundamental in order to stimulate the intelligence of the youth and to improve and enrich their style.³⁰

The pedagogical aim of his commentary also emerges implicitly through the choice of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro, the ten-year-old son of Duke Federico, as dedicatee of this work. Yet the implications of this choice were not only didactic. Beyond the young Montefeltro, another figure stands out: that of his father, whom Landino no doubt wanted to praise with his dedication so as to celebrate the reconciliation between Urbino and Florence after seven years of war.³¹ In any case, a more general feature of Landino's letter is his intention to dedicate not a poem of his own invention but a commentary on someone else's poetry. As Lo Monaco observes, during the second half of the fifteenth century the figure of the commentator progressively acquired greater definition and gained autonomy from the commented works. This led to a situation in which a commentary could be presented as a self-sufficient and independent literary product, worthy of being offered to a new Maecenas. Important milestones of this process can be identified in the 1474 commentary on Statius's *Silvae* by Domizio Calderini, who was one of the first to compare the role of the exegete to that of the poet, and in the 1487 commentary on

³⁰ 'Ad iuvenile ingenium excitandum et ad linguam expoliendam atque ornandam' (Landino, *Scritti critici*, I, 198). See Christopher Pieper, "'Horatius praeceptor eloquentiae". The *Ars Poetica* in Cristoforo Landino's Commentary', in *Neo-Latin Commentaries and The Management of Knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period (1400-1700)*, ed. by Karl Enenkel and Henk Nellen (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2013), pp. 221-40.

³¹ See Gabriele Bugada, 'Introduzione', in Cristoforo Landino, *In Quinti Horatii Flacci 'Artem Poeticam' ad Pisones interpretationes*, ed. by Gabriele Bugada (Florence: Sismel, 2012), pp. 5-70 (p. 20).

Propertius by Filippo Beroaldo, who claimed that a writer and his interpreter share the same dignity.³²

Along with the dedicatory letter, other paratexts in Landino's commentary are noteworthy. After the biography of the poet, which opens the volume,³³ there is a long introduction to the *Carmina*, where Landino traces the history of poetry from its first origins (symbolized by the mythological figures of Orpheus and Amphion). Throughout this account, the humanist praises poetry as the most fundamental art, which brings knowledge to human beings, refines them and gives order to their otherwise bestial existence.³⁴ Landino would return to the key topic of poetry as the most important discipline in the introduction to the *Ars Poetica*. In this text the poet is explicitly presented as the intermediary between man and God, whose limitless knowledge is transmitted to the poet-theologian, who, in turn, composes in a state of divine *furor*.³⁵ Landino links this concept to the theory of the Platonic 'enthousiasmos' and finds in the relation Horace establishes between *natura* and *ingenium* a parallel to the philosophical pairing of art and *furor*.³⁶ Yet since the humanist is aware that the idea of Platonic *furor* cannot be reconciled with that of classicism professed by Horace, who saw poetry as based upon a constant *labor*

³² See *Propertius cum commentariis Philippi Beroaldi* (Bologna: Platone de' Benedetti, 1487), fol. 1^v. On the importance of this statement by Beroaldo see Ezio Raimondi, *Codro e l'Umanesimo a Bologna* (Bologna: Zuffi, 1950), pp. 83-84; and Lo Monaco, 'Alcune osservazioni', pp. 113-14.

³³ See above, section 1.2.

³⁴ See Roberto Cardini, 'Il Landino e la poesia', in, Id., *La critica del Landino*, pp. 85-112.

³⁵ See Salvatore Cerasuolo, 'Storia critica dell'*Ars Poetica* dal Landino al Maggi', in *Lettture oraziane*, ed. by Marcello Gigante and Salvatore Cerasuolo (Naples: Arte Tipografica, 1995), pp. 267-89 (pp. 267-70); Liane Nebes, *Der Furor poeticus im italienischen Renaissanceplatonismus. Studien zu Kommentar und Literaturtheorie bei Ficino, Landino und Patrizi* (Marburg, Tectum-Verlag, 2001); and Pieper, "'Horatius praeceptor eloquentiae'", pp. 221-40.

³⁶ On the theme of the Platonic *furor* in Landino's commentary to Dante see Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, pp. 186-193. On the presence of the same theme in fifteenth-century Florence see Donatella Coppini, 'L'ispirazione per contagion: "furor", e "remota lectio" nella poesia latina del Poliziano', in *Agnolo Poliziano poeta scrittore filologo. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Montepulciano, novembre 1994)*, ed. by Vincenzo Fera e Mario Martelli (Florence: Le Lettere, 1998), pp. 127-64; and William Scott, 'Perotti, Ficino and "Furor platonicus"', *RPL*, 4 (1981), 273-84.

limae, Landino opts for a tacit compromise. He believes poets have a divine nature and they can be related to a creator God through their artistic productions, but he speaks of this divine nature in terms of Platonic *furor* only in the preface of the *Art of Poetry*, while in the main corpus of his commentary this concept is neither merged with nor affects the idea of classical art, proper to Horace.³⁷ In his annotations, poetry is simply defined as a divine impulse to imitate the celestial harmony, rather than being seen as the result of a uncontrolled *enthousiasmos*. Despite the fact that the theory of *furor* is professed only in the Preface, by labelling Horatian compositions as the product of a divine poet-theologian, Landino depicts Horace as a Platonic lyricist.

As these cases illustrate, Landino's interest is highly focused on a critical-ideological understanding of the poet's compositions.³⁸ He wishes to surpass the ancient commentators in this field, even though he is not interested in other aspects, such as philology, probably because of his less than sophisticated skill in this subject.³⁹ Indeed, although Landino composed his work using more than three manuscripts, the lemmas he glosses sometimes do not correspond to the published Horatian text, nor do they match any other manuscript possessed by Landino after 1443.⁴⁰ In his notes there is no reference at all to the *variae lectiones* of the literary texts. This was certainly a limit of Landino's work and is not entirely (or simply) ascribable to the haste with which the humanist composed his commentary, which, as

³⁷ On the contradictions within the Landino's commentaries between proemial statements and glosses see Procaccioli, *Filologia ed esegesi dantesca nel Quattrocento*, p. 253; and Gilson, *Dante and Renaissance Florence*, p.175.

³⁸ This aspect is highlighted also by Cardini in his edited volume Landino, *Saggi critici*, II, 249.

³⁹ On the relation Landino's commentary has with ancient and medieval scholiasts see Bugada, 'Introduzione', p. 53.

⁴⁰ The manuscript (containing the text of the *Epistles* and that of the *Art of Poetry*) is now in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 592.

he clearly stated, had been prepared in one year.⁴¹ As mentioned above, Landino had in fact studied and annotated Horace since his youth and, after having been appointed professor of rhetoric and poetics at the University of Florence in 1458, he lectured several times on the Latin poet (in 1461 on the *Carmina*, in 1463-1464 on the *Ars Poetica*, then again between 1470 and 1472 and in 1492-1493).⁴² A copy of the notes one of his students took during the lessons Landino gave on the *Art of Poetry* in 1463-1464 suggests us that not even on that occasion (when the exegete would have had time to devote himself to his commentary without haste) was the humanist interested in mere philological questions. This was perceived as a shortcoming by Bartolomeo Fonzio, the student who took the notes (and who later lectured on Horace's *Carmina* in Florence in 1483). For this reason, Fonzio decided to supplement his master's glosses by making reference to the *Orthographia* of Giovanni Tortelli, a more scrupulous text with regard to grammatical and historical aspects.⁴³

⁴¹ More precisely, Landino's Horatian commentary was prepared between September 1481 and July 1482. See Bausi, 'Landino, Cristoforo', 308. Landino referred to the period in which he composed his Horatian commentary in the Preface to the 1488 edition of his commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid*. This text can be read in Landino, *Saggi critici*, I, 233.

⁴² See Bausi, 'Landino, Cristoforo', 307; IURILLI, p. 32; and Armando F. Verde, *Lo studio fiorentino (1473-1503). Ricerche e documenti*, 6 vols (Florence-Pistoia, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento-Memorie domenicane-Olschki, 1973-2010), II, 147-76, IV.1, 96-99, and IV.3, 1086-87.

⁴³ The text of these notes (entitled *Collecta sub Christophoro Landino publice legenti Florentie anno MCCCC supra quartum et sexagesimum. Multa sunt quae ipse non dixit, sed ego ex Tortellio college*, and conserved in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 646, fols 67^r-80^v) is published by Rugada at the end of his edited volume (Landino, *In Quinti Horatii*). On Fonzio see Rugada, 'Introduzione', pp. 133-53; Stefano Caroti and Stefano Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Fonzio, umanista fiorentino* (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1974); Filippo Di Benedetto, 'Fonzio e Landino su Orazio', in *Tradizione classica e tradizione umanistica. Per Alessandro Perosa*, ed. by Roberto Cardini, Eugenio Garin, Lucia Cesarini Martinelli, and Giovanni Pascucci, 2 vols (Rome: Bulzoni, 1985), II, 437-53; Raffaella Zaccaria, 'Della Fonte, Bartolomeo', in *DBI*, XXXVI (1988), 808-14; Alison Brown, *Bartolomeo Scala, 1430-1497, Chancellor of Florence. The Humanist as Bureaucrat* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); Francesco Bausi, *Umanesimo a Firenze nell'età di Lorenzo e Poliziano: Jacopo Bracciolini, Bartolomeo Fonzio, Francesco da Castiglione* (Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 2011); Id., 'Fonzio, Bartolomeo', in *EO*, III, 230-32; Id., 'Landino, Cristoforo', 307; and Peter Godman, *From Poliziano to Machiavelli: Florentine Humanism in the High Renaissance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 76-79.

Although it is not focused on philological topics, Landino's work is very rich in other respects. His commentary is primarily dedicated to clarifying seemingly obscure passages, mainly from the *Carmina*. More than half of the whole work, in fact, is devoted to Horace's lyrical compositions. Indeed, Landino was principally interested in Horace as a lyric poet and not as a satirist and a gnomic master, contrary to previous interpretations. It is probably for this reason that Landino attempts to conceal the Epicurean aspects of the Latin texts. I have already shown in chapter 1 that, in his biography of Horace, Landino tries to diminish, nuance, or even elide the poet's interest in Epicurean theories either by ignoring the references made by other biographers to his philosophical sympathies, or by dismissing this interest as an error of the poet's youth. In the main corpus of the commentary, Landino likewise attenuates Horace's allusions to Epicureanism, misinterprets them, or even deletes any reference to them. An interesting example is Landino's note on the expression 'pulvis et umbra sumus' (we are dust and shadow) from *Carm.* IV, 7, one of Horace's most explicit Epicurean odes. Landino removes any Epicurean notion implicit in this line: his gloss 'nam corpus in pulverem redit' (in fact the dead body turns into dust), connects it, in fact, with a reassuring and orthodox biblical background.⁴⁴ Landino uses a similar strategy in his gloss to *Epist.* I, 4, 15-16⁴⁵. Here Landino, forcing the text, writes that the poet refers to himself as a member of the Epicurean sect not because he is one of them, but because through offering an example of a damaging existence he wants his readers to follow its opposite path and lead a moral life. The practice of misrepresenting or softening Epicurean images is

⁴⁴ See, for example, Genesis 3:19.

⁴⁵ Hor. *Epist.* I, 4, 15-16, 'me pinguem [...] vises [...] Epicuri de grege porcum' (you will see me as a plump hog of the herd of Epicurus).

extensively employed throughout the volume;⁴⁶ it is, of course, part of a long tradition of making pagan philosophical ideas fit with Christian doctrine.⁴⁷

In Landino's commentary one finds glosses to almost every line. The general exegetical approach involves first a paraphrase of the text, then some lexical-etymological or mythological-scientific considerations, and, finally, a series of parallel passages to exemplify particular grammatical or syntactical features. In his erudite digressions, Landino displays his familiarity with ancient history and classical traditions (one needs to bear in mind that he had recently translated Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* into the Florentine dialect).⁴⁸ Moreover, the humanist professes some knowledge of Greek literature and language, even if this is often quite certainly derived from other works (primarily those by Quintilian and Macrobius) or encyclopaedias. Landino regularly quotes Homer (the third author in terms of number of citations after Virgil – who is present in almost every gloss – and Cicero), but he also includes some lines in Greek from Hesiod's *Theogony*, the poet Euphorion of Chalcis, and the *Epitaph to Orpheus*. He also mentions other Greek lyric poets, but never specifically identifies Pindar, Alcaeus or Sappho as the sources

⁴⁶ These tendencies are testified by the notes to *Carm.* I, 4, 14-16; I, 5, 8; I, 9, 13-15; I, 8; I, 11; I, 12, 15; I, 19; I, 29, 13; I, 34, 1-2; II, 3, 1-7; II, 10, 21; II, 11; IV, 7, 7; *Sat.* II, 4; II, 8, 91-92; *Epist.* I, 4.

⁴⁷ There is a wide bibliography on the topic. See at least James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols (Leiden-New York: Brill, 1990); David A. Lines, *Aristotle's Ethics in the Italian Renaissance (ca. 1300-1650): The Universities and the Problem of Moral Education* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2002); *Classical Traditions in Renaissance philosophy*, ed. by Jill Kraye (Aldershot-Burlington: Ashgate, 2002); James Hankins, *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2003-2004); and Id., *The Recovery of Ancient Philosophy in the Italian Renaissance: A Brief Guide* (Florence: Olschki, 2008).

⁴⁸ Lo Monaco, in fact, stated that the 'commenti a stampa del secondo Quattrocento si incontrano delle presentazioni della funzione dell'esegesi nelle quali l'autore insiste sulla necessità della *polymathia* del commentatore, indispensabile per spiegare un testo che raccoglie in sé *variae disciplinae*' (*Alcune osservazioni*, p. 106).

of the Horatian *Carmina*.⁴⁹ He makes a few mentions of Dante or Petrarch,⁵⁰ and some sporadic allusions to near contemporaries such as Salutati, Ficino or Leon Battista Alberti (in *Carm.* III, 4, 41).

2.2 HORATIAN COMMENTATORS: FROM BEROALDO THE ELDER TO GIROLAMO SCOTO

Landino's commentary was a significant editorial success. In 1483, just one year after the Florentine *editio princeps*, it was reprinted in Venice by Giovanni de Gregoriis (APPENDIX [6]), and then a further ten times during the last two decades of the fifteenth century. However, not all were satisfied with the work. One early criticism came in the 1486 Milan edition of Horace (APPENDIX [7]) where the editor, Alessandro Minuziano, explicitly took issue with the Florentine humanist, whose work he considered inaccurate and inexact. As mentioned above, he therefore decided to publish the compositions of the Latin poet accompanied only by the texts of the two ancient commentaries, one of which (that of Porphyry) he claimed to have personally emended. Minuziano's reservations found an echo also in some chapters of Filippo Beroaldo the Elder's exegetical work, *Annotationes centum*, published in 1488 (APPENDIX [8]). Eleven out of Beroaldo's one hundred annotations, which accompany difficult and controversial passages derived from many Latin authors, are devoted to Horace, specifically to the *Epistles* and *Satires*.⁵¹ These Horatian notes

⁴⁹ It is not implausible that in these passages Landino also resorted to mythographical handbooks that he knew well, such as Salutati's *De laboribus Herculis* and Boccaccio's *Genealogie*, even if he does not explicitly mention them.

⁵⁰ See Landino, *Saggi critici*, II, pp. 252-53.

⁵¹ On Beroaldo the Elder (1453-1505) see Myron Gilmore, 'Beroaldo senior, Filippo', in *DBI*, IX (1967), 382-84; Paola de Capua, 'Beroaldo il vecchio, Filippo', in *EO*, III, 126-27; Ludovico Frati, 'I

focus on the exegesis the humanist had developed over several years while teaching at the University of Bologna.⁵² In all eleven annotations, after having presented the state of the art and the aporias linked to the specific fragment of text he is analysing, Beroaldo offers his own explanations or solutions. These are often diametrically opposed to those offered by Landino, whose positions are constantly contested and explicitly contradicted.

In turn, Beroaldo's own exegetical work received its own share of criticism. After having read the *Annotationes*, in fact, Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494) wrote a small treatise entitled *In Annotationes Beroaldi*. In this work, which has remained unpublished, the humanist reveals his disagreement with Beroaldo.⁵³ Poliziano expresses his doubts concerning the accuracy and interpretations of the *Annotationes centum*, and some of the passages he contests deal with obscure Horatian verses. In such passages, according to Poliziano, Beroaldo has completely misunderstood Horace. Poliziano also dealt with Horace in print. Indeed, in 1489 he published a celebrated work entitled *Miscellaneorum centuria prima* (APPENDIX [9]),

due Beroaldi', *Studi e memorie per la storia dell'Università di Bologna*, 2 (1911), 210-80; *I lettori di retorica*, pp. 11-16; and Eugenio Garin, 'Note sull'insegnamento di Filippo Beroaldo il Vecchio', in Id., *La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano: Ricerche e documenti* (Florence: Sansoni, 1961), pp. 359-82.

⁵² We know that before 1491 Beroaldo lectured on the Horatian *Carmina*, while in 1491 he taught the *Epistles*. He also edited the first Bolognese edition of Horace's works (1502), followed by a brief textual *recognitio* written by Beroaldo himself (APPENDIX [16]). See *I lettori di retorica*, pp. 11-16.

⁵³ Poliziano attended one of the lessons of 1491 Beroaldo's course on the *Epistles*. On the relation between the two humanists see Paola de Capua, 'Poliziano e Beroaldo', in *Agnolo Poliziano poeta scrittore filologo*, pp. 505-25. Poliziano's work entitled *In Annotationes Beroaldi* is conserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, ms. lat. 754, fols 264^r-270^r. This manuscript is the copy Poliziano's pupil, Pietro Crinito, transcribed. On this text see Konrad Krautter, 'Angelo Poliziano als Kritiker von Filippo Beroaldo', *RPL*, 4 (1981), 315-30; Francesco Lo Monaco, 'Poliziano e Beroaldo. Le *In Annotationes Beroaldi* del Poliziano', *Rinascimento*, 32 (1992), 103-65; and Eugenio Garin, 'Sulle relazioni tra il Poliziano e Filippo Beroaldo il Vecchio', in Id., *La cultura filosofica del Rinascimento italiano*, pp. 364-67. Poliziano himself lectured several times on Horace at the University of Florence: after 1482 he lectured on the *Sermones*, before 1488 he lectured on the *Epistles* and between 1487 and 1489 he lectured again on one of Horace's works. See Lines, *Aristotle's Ethics*, pp. 101-07; and Alessandro Daneloni, 'Poliziano, Angelo', in *EO*, III, 435-41 (p. 436).

consisting of a series of one hundred chapters discussing various and diverse controversial classical literary passages.⁵⁴ These annotations, which are not polemical in tone, aim simply to correct erroneous readings of classical texts or analyse ambiguous features or expressions employed by many Latin poets or prose writers. Of these one hundred chapters, four deal specifically with Horatian verses.⁵⁵ Two other chapters, though mainly devoted to other authors, dwell on Horace;⁵⁶ and finally, five more chapters deal briefly with other Horatian fragments.⁵⁷

Poliziano's *Centuria prima* (APPENDIX [9]) and Beroaldo's *Annotationes* are scholarly works belonging to a genre that became widespread during the fifteenth century and continued to be practiced in the Cinquecento: the encyclopaedic collection of annotations and remarks on Latin (and sometimes Greek) language and literature, considered in their multifaceted aspects.⁵⁸ Instead of producing a new commentary on a single work, many humanists instead devoted their efforts to interpreting particularly unintelligible passages taken from several Latin (and Greek)

⁵⁴ On Poliziano as a philologist and exegete see, among the many studies, Mario Martelli, 'La semantica del Poliziano e la *Centuria secunda* dei *Miscellanea*', *Rinascimento*, 13 (1973), 1-84; Vittore Branca, *Poliziano e l'umanesimo della parola* (Turin: Einaudi, 1983); Anthony Grafton, 'On the Scholarship of Politian and its Context', *JWCI*, 40 (1977), 150-88; Vittore Branca and Manlio Pastore Stocchi, 'Introduzione', in Angelo Poliziano, *Miscellaneorum Centuria Secunda*, ed. by Vittore Branca and Manlio Pastore Stocchi (Florence: Olschki, 1978), pp. 1-68; Lucia Cesarini-Martinelli, 'In margine al commento di angelo Poliziano alle *Selve di Stazio*', *Interpres*, 1 (1978), 96-145; Francesco Lo Monaco, 'On the Prehistory of Politian's *Miscellaneorum Centuria Secunda*', *JWCI*, 52 (1989), 52-70; Massimo Gioseffi, 'Angelo Poliziano e le postille pseudo-probiane a Virgilio', *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo. Classe di Lettere, Scienze morali e storiche*, 126 (1992), 65-86; and *Il Poliziano latino. Atti del seminario di Lecce, 28 aprile 1994*, ed. by Paolo Viti (Galatina: Congedo, 1996).

⁵⁵ Poliziano's chapter 3 on *Epist.* II, 2, 95; chapter 30 on *Epist.* I, 7, 65; chapter 58 on *Carmen Saec.* 14 and 69-71; and chapter 72 on *Carm.* I, 38, 2.

⁵⁶ Poliziano's chapter 10 is on Juvenal II, 92, but refers to *Epod.* 17, 56; chapter 100 deals with Verg. *Aen.* II, 255, but discusses *Carm.* III, 30, 8-9.

⁵⁷ These are chapters 16, 21, 39, 62, and 91.

⁵⁸ On Poliziano's philological activity the bibliography is particularly vast. See, among the others, Branca, *Poliziano e l'umanesimo della parola*; Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger. A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 9-44; Godman, *From Poliziano to Machiavelli*, pp. 3-179; Agnolo Poliziano *poeta scrittore filologo*, pp. 223-385; and Claudio Griggio, *Appunti sulla ricezione classica in Poliziano e Ermolao Barbaro* (Florence: Olschki, 2014).

authors, competing with one another in acumen and erudition in the course of their innovative analysis of the exegetical *cruces*. Some of their investigations, of course, dealt with the Horatian corpus. From the beginning of the Cinquecento, these annotations started to become detached from encyclopaedic works and were printed at the end of the editions of those authors to which they were devoted. This was so in the case of the notes on Horace by Poliziano and Beroaldo, which in 1507 were printed in Paris after Horace's *Epistles*, a work mentioned above that had already been equipped with a full commentary composed some years earlier by the Brabantine humanist Badius Ascensius (APPENDIX [22]). This tendency to combine annotations and reflections on the same author made by several scholars echoed another widespread feature in the printing world since the late 1480s. Publishers (and editors) understood the market potential of an edition of a classical text that combined more than one commentator, especially if the texts of the ancient and new scholiasts were combined together.⁵⁹ In Venice, which was at the forefront of developments in the market for printed books, an edition of Virgil with two commentaries, those by the ancient scholiast Servius and the humanist Calderini, was published in 1483. In 1489, also in Venice, another Virgilian edition with the complete texts of four commentators (Servius, Donatus, Landino, and Calderini)

⁵⁹ On the history of printing in the early Renaissance, see, at least, Neri Pozza, 'L'editoria veneziana da Giovanni da Spira ad Aldo Manuzio. I centri editoriali di terraferma', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, ed. by Girolamo Arnaldi e Manlio Pastore Stocchi, 10 vols (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1976), III.2, 125-44; John L. Flood, "'Volentes sibi comparare infrascriptos libros impressos...': Printed Books as a Commercial Commodity in the Fifteenth Century", in *Incunabula and Their Readers: Printing, Selling, and Using Books in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Kristian Jensen (London: The British Library, 2003), pp. 139-51; Kristian Jensen, 'Exporting and Importing Italian Humanism: the reception of Italian printed editions of classical authors and their commentators at the University of Leipzig', *IMU*, 45 (2004), 437-97; Paul Gehl, 'Off the Press and into the Classroom: Using the Textbook of Antonio Mancinelli', *History of Education and Children's Literature*, 3 (2008), 19-30; Alejandro Coroleu, *Printing and Reading Italian Latin Humanism in Renaissance Europe (ca. 1470-ca. 1540)* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), pp. 10-56; and Paul Gehl, *Humanism for Sale: Making and Marketing Schoolbooks in Italy, 1450-1650*, <<http://www.humanismforsale.org/text/>> [accessed 12 September 2015].

appeared. Three years later an edition of the satires of Juvenal was printed with three modern commentaries by Calderini, Giorgio Valla, and Mancinelli.⁶⁰ Such tendencies also affected the publication history of Horace, and from an early date: indeed, his texts were printed with both the commentaries by Pseudo-Acro and Porphyry in 1474-1475. However, the first to publish Landino's commentary along with the texts of the two ancient scholiasts was Giovanni Francesco Superchio, called Filomuso, editor of the Horatian volume that Giorgio Arrivabene printed in 1490 in Venice (APPENDIX [10]). The choice was so commercially successful that two years later, in 1492, Antonio Mancinelli (1452-1505) published his new commentary on the lyric works of the Horatian corpus together with the other three of Filomuso's edition (APPENDIX [11]). This helped to inaugurate a new era of Horatian editions with four commentaries. There were five reprints of Mancinelli's edition in the last years of the Quattrocento alone, and more than twenty in the following century.⁶¹ The quartet composed of Mancinelli, Pseudo-Acro, Porphyry, and Landino lasted until the 1520s, while Landino's commentary was later replaced by that of Badius Ascensius (first published in 1503). It was, however, not entirely forgotten and was published on other occasions during the sixteenth century (in 1528 in Venice by Bernardino da Tridino, and in 1555 in Basel by Heinrich Petri).⁶²

⁶⁰ See *Publii Vergili Maronis Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis cum commentariis Servii, et eiusdem opuscula cum enarrationibus Domitii Calderini* (Venice: Battista de Tortis, 1483); *Publii Vergilii Maronis opera cum Servii Mauri Honorati grammatici, Aelii Donati, Christophori Landini, atque Domitii Calderini commentariis* (Venice: Giorgio Arrivabene 1489); and *Iuvenalis cum tribus commentariis videlicet Antonii Mancinelli, Domitii Calderini, Georgii Vallae. Argumenta satyrarum Iuvenalis per Antonium Mancinellum* (Venice: Johannem de Cereto de Tridino, 1492).

⁶¹ This was deduced by consulting the on line version of *Le edizioni italiane del XVI secolo. Censimento nazionale*, <http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/ihome.htm> [accessed 15 September 2015].

⁶² For the second edition see APPENDIX [45]; while the first one is: *Quinti Horatii Flacci Poemata omnia cum interpretatione Christofori Landini [...] Quae omnia nuper cum accurata diligentia emendata et excusa sunt* (Venice: Bernardino da Tridino, 1528).

Compared with Landino's commentary, that of Mancinelli (1492) appears more complete and better organized, if less original.⁶³ The explanations of each composition follow a consistent pattern. First, the exegete presents a summary of the content of the poem, then he provides a clear and exhaustive analysis of the metrical scheme of the *carmen* and, finally, he glosses single phrases or lines, providing lexical explanations and erudite digressions and discussing parallel passages in other classical sources. Moreover, when considering obscure or ambiguous passages Mancinelli often refers to the other commentators whose texts are included in his edition. However, he never mentions Landino.

Mancinelli's interpretations are not particularly innovative, but his commentary became a popular editorial success probably for three reasons: these include his lucid and methodical exposition of the texts (derived from a long practice of university teaching), his mastery of metrics⁶⁴ (a discipline scarcely understood by previous commentators, but which, on the contrary, was fundamental for expounding and appreciating the difficult poetical schemes of Horace's lyrics), and his attention to philology in matters of textual reconstruction and variants. Mancinelli's goal, as he explicitly states in the prefatory letter addressed to Pomponio Leto, his master at the University of Rome, was to display and analyse the stylistic features and *artificium* of Horace's compositions, and the philosophical content of his poetry, avoiding the medieval tendency (still employed by some contemporary teachers) to consider the Latin poet, and specifically his hexametrical production, as a source of gnomic

⁶³ On Mancinelli's commentary see IURILLI, pp. 37-38; Coppini, 'Mancinelli, Antonio', 334-35; and Gehl, 'Off the Press and into the Classroom', 19-30. See also Paul Gehl, 'Antonio Mancinelli and the Humanist Classroom', in Id., *Humanism for Sale*, 3.00. On Mancinelli's biography see above, section 1.2.

⁶⁴ Before devoting to Horace's commentary, Mancinelli wrote a metrical treatise in hexameters entitled *Versilogus sive De componendis versibus opusculum* (Rome: Stephan Plannck, 1488).

precepts.⁶⁵ It may well be that such factors motivated his decision to comment only on the lyrical works of Horace (*Carmina*, *Epodes*, and *Carmen saeculare*).

Alongside the publication of Mancinelli's works, the year 1492 also witnessed the Lyonnais print by Badius Ascensius (1462-1535), who published his commented anthology of moral texts entitled *Silvae morales*.⁶⁶ It was a collection of extracts and entire texts by several classical and medieval authors, conceived specifically for the education of children.⁶⁷ The moral message was explicitly underlined in their titles (for example: *Primus [liber] de vitiis fugiendis*; *Secundus de fragilitate hominis*), and many sections contained compositions taken from Horace's *Epistles*, *Satires*, and *Odes*. The approach Badius followed in this work was quite different from Mancinelli's, for Badius embraced the tendency to use the Latin poet as a source for basic moral teachings, and made of Horace almost a Christian author. Badius's preference for the gnomic component of Horace's texts is also echoed in the commentary he wrote on Horace's hexametrical production five years later, in 1499 (APPENDIX [12]). This was the first fifteenth-century commentary on Horace composed outside Italy, and it was labelled by its author as *Familiare commentum* (familiar/informal commentary) for reasons of modesty towards the text of Pseudo-Acro's glosses which accompanied those by Badius in the Lyon edition. During the following years, Badius devoted himself to the study and analysis of the lyrical compositions of Horace and in 1503 published – this time in Paris – a commentary

⁶⁵ See IURILLI, p. 37.

⁶⁶ *Silvae morales cum interpretatione Ascensii. In XII libellos divisae* (Lyon: Jean Trechsel, 1492). On Badius see Jozef Ijsewijn, 'Badius Ascensius, Iodocus', in *EO*, III, 111-12; Maurice Lebel, 'Josse Bade, éditeur et préfacier', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 5 (1981), 63-71; Paul Gehl, 'Josse Bade. Editor and Printer', in Id., *Humanism for Sale*, 4.07; and Paul White, 'Printing Centres—Paris: Jodocus Badius Ascensius, Robert I Estienne, and Others', in *BENLW*, II, 1161-63.

⁶⁷ See IURILLI p. 38.

on these texts. This edition was composed of two volumes. The first contained, along with the lyrics of the Latin poet, both the new commentary of the Brabantine humanist and that of Mancinelli; the second included the *Satires*, the *Epistles*, and the *Art of Poetry* followed by Badius's annotations (APPENDIX [19]).⁶⁸ The decision to add his own glosses to those of Mancinelli was very successful, and from the late 1510s, as mentioned above, his notes gradually substituted those by Landino in the Italian market for multiple commentary editions of Horace. Even before entering the Italian editorial market, Badius's exegesis was combined with that of other Italian humanists in a new Parisian edition of the *Epistles*, which aimed at presenting scholars already accustomed to the editions of the Latin poet with accompanying synoptic commentaries in parallel columns, in a more appealing volume. It was the initiative of Jean Petit that gave birth to this editorial product, where Badius's scholia were accompanied by the notes of Beroaldo and Poliziano (APPENDIX [22]).

The first Italian edition with a section of Badius's comments on Horace was that published in Venice in 1516 by Alessandro Paganino (APPENDIX [27]). It included Porphyry, Mancinelli, and Badius's glosses on the lyric production of the poet, and a commentary on the *Art of Poetry*, the *Satires*, and the *Epistles* by Giovanni Britannico of Brescia (Brixianus) (c. 1450-c. 1519). The latter was a Lombard humanist, well known for his commentaries on Persius (1481) and Juvenal (1501), who devoted his exegetical attention specifically to Horace's hexametric

⁶⁸ On Badius's commentary on the *Ars Poetica* see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 81-85; *Horace for Students of Literature: The 'Ars Poetica' and its Tradition*, ed. by Osborn B. Hardison Jr. and Leon Golden (Gainesville: Florida University Press, 1995), pp. 159-63; and Ann Moss, 'Horace in the Sixteenth Century', pp. 67-69.

production (published for the first time in Paganino's edition).⁶⁹ This choice echoed Britannico's preferences for the genre of the metric satire, but it also reflected a desire to counterbalance Mancinelli's commentary on Horace's lyrical production. Britannico's commentary is highly conventional and, in terms of content, specifically rhetorical. His exegetical reflections frequently draw on those of the ancient scholiasts (mainly Pseudo-Acro and Porphyry, but also Diomedes and Donatus). Moreover, in order to explain Horace's structures and stylistic choices, he paralleled his considerations with those of classical authors, while making no mention whatsoever of Badius.⁷⁰ Paganino's initiative to link Badius's commentary with the interpretations of Mancinelli and Britannico was echoed several times in the Italian printing world during the next three decades. Its combination of commentaries with an edition of the text provided the public with a variety of recent scholarship together with traditional and highly appreciated pattern of a multiple commentary.

While in 1518 Horace's texts, accompanied only by those of the three modern commentators, were published in Milan (APPENDIX [30]), in 1517 in Venice the printer Guglielmo de Fontaneto manufactured a new editorial product in line with his readers' quest for novelty: an edition of the Latin poet with five complete commentaries (the two ancient ones, and the more recent three by Mancinelli, Badius, and Britannico), accompanied by a series of other exegetical paratexts (APPENDIX [29]). He assembled together for the first time Matteo Bonfini and Manuzio's annotations and three metrical works on the Horatian poems, the

⁶⁹ On Britannico see Ugo Baroncelli, 'Britannico, Giovanni', in *DBI*, XIV (1972), 342-43; and Domenico Fava, 'Britannico e le sue *Regulae grammaticales*', in *Studi e ricerche sulla storia della stampa del Quattrocento: Omaggio dell'Italia a Giovanni Gutenberg nel V centenario della sua scoperta* (Milan: Hoepli, 1942), pp. 131-43.

⁷⁰ See Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 92-94.

Centimetrum by the fourth-century Latin grammarian Servius Marius Honoratus, the *De metris odarum* by Niccolò Perotti, and the brief metrical treatise that Aldo Manuzio devoted to Horace. Bonfini's annotations on the Horatian corpus derived from his university teaching in Rome and are addressed 'ad studiosorum adulescentium utilitatem et commodum' (to the utility and advantage of the diligent youth).⁷¹ In his work, which first appeared in Rome in 1514 (APPENDIX [26]), the humanist (1441-post 1514) focuses on the corrupt passages of the poetical texts and on those parts that, according to him, had never been properly explained, mainly devoting his notes to linguistic problems.⁷² More than half of his annotations deal with the *Carmina*, a quarter with the *Satires* and the remaining quarter with the *Epodes*, the *Ars Poetica*, and the *Epistles*. The Venetian humanist and printer Aldo Manuzio (1449-1515), on the other hand, wrote far fewer annotations (approximately twenty),⁷³ focusing on reconstructing the text and on philological and metrical

⁷¹ *Centum et quindecim annotationes*, fol. 7^r – APPENDIX [26].

⁷² See Antonio Iurilli, 'Bonfini, Matteo', in *EO*, III, 138-39; Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti e nelle traduzioni del Cinquecento', p. 54; and Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 91.

⁷³ Aldo Manuzio annotated passages from *Carm* I, 1; I, 17; I, 27; II, 8; III, 6; III, 12; *Epod.* 16 and 17; *Ars P.* 114; *Epist.* I, 5; I, 6; I, 15; I, 16; II, 2; *Sat.* I, 1; I, 3; I, 6; I, 10; II, 5, according to the notes printed in 1509 (APPENDIX [24]) and in 1519 (APPENDIX [31]), while Scoto in his volume (APPENDIX [38]) attributes to Manuzio also a note to *Sat.* II, 8. Scholarship on Manuzio is particularly vast. See, among the several critical works, Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1875); Martin Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius. Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979); *New Aldine Studies. Documentary Essays on the Life and Works of Aldus Manutius*, ed. by Harry Georg Fletcher (San Francisco: Rosenthal, 1988); Martin Lowry, "'Magni nominis umbra"? L'editoria classica da Aldo Manuzio il vecchio ad Aldo il giovane', in *La stampa italiana del Cinquecento*, ed. by Marco Santoro (Rome: Bulzoni, 1992), pp. 237-53; IURILLI, pp. 596-99; *Aldo Manuzio: i suoi libri, i suoi amici tra XV e XVI secolo*, ed. by Piero Scapecchi (Florence: Octavo Cantini, 1994); *Aldo Manuzio e l'ambiente veneziano. 1494-1515*, ed. by Susy Marcon and Marino Zorzi (Venice: Il Cardo, 1994); *Aldo Manuzio tipografo, 1494-1515*, ed. by Luciana Bigliazzi (Florence: Octavo Cantini, 1994); Carlo Dionisotti, *Aldo Manuzio umanista e editore* (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1995); Martin Davies, *Aldus Manutius: printer and publisher of Renaissance Venice* (Malibu: The Paul Getty Museum, 1995); 'Romanus et Graecorum studiosus'. *A Celebration of Aldus Manutius 500 Years after His First Dated Publication*, ed. by David Jordan (Athens-New Rochelle: Aristide Caratzas, 1995); *Aldus Manutius and Renaissance Culture: Essays in Memory of Franklin D. Murphy. Acts of an International conference at Venice and Florence, 14-17 June 1994* (Florence: Olschki, 1998); Antonio Iurilli, 'Manuzio, Aldo', in *EO*, III, 358-42; Antonio Polselli, *Aldo Manuzio: l'ancora e il delfino* (Rome: Herald, 2010); and Andrew Taylor, 'Printing Centres—Venice: Aldus Manutius and the Aldine Press', in *BENLW*, II,

problems, as suggested by the frontispiece of the volume in which these notes were first printed (the 1509 Manuzio edition of Horace – APPENDIX [24]).⁷⁴ Fontaneto's edition contains not only these annotations, but also another work by Manuzio (which had previously appeared in the 1509 Aldine Horace): a brief metrical treatise on the Latin poet, a text closely modelled on Perotti's *De metris odarum* that aims at describing the metrical schemes of Horatian lyrics, providing both a graphic representation of them and a brief description of their characteristics.

As well as Bonfini and Manuzio's texts, the other works published by Fontaneto in his 1517 edition had already been printed. The *editio princeps* of Servius's text, in fact, dated back to 1493 (Venice: Damiano da Gorgonzola), while Perotti's metrical treatises (*De genere metrorum* and *De metris odarum*) appeared in 1471 and were later republished several times (in 1493 in the volume containing Servius's treatise, and then in 1502 and 1512 along with the metrical works by Francesco Maturazio, again in Venice). Therefore, the originality of Fontaneto's edition lies not in the works he published, but in the fact that his volume was the first to group together these kind of texts, adorning the Horatian compositions with a more diversified apparatus of commentaries, whose interrelations were designed to facilitate understanding of the Latin poet's corpus (or at least claimed to do so).⁷⁵ The edition was very successful and was published again by Fontaneto himself in 1520 and 1527, and in the following years by other Venetian printers, such as Giovanni Tacuino (in 1536 and 1538), and Venturino Ruffinello (in 1540).

1164-67.

⁷⁴ In this volume, indeed, one can read 'adnotationes nonnullae in toto opere in quibus vel aliquid mutandum ostenditur vel cur mutatum sit ratio redditur' (few annotations to the whole [Horatian] corpus, in which either it is shown which parts of the texts need to be changed, or which is the reason to change them), *Quinti Horatii Flacci poemata omnia* (APPENDIX [29]), fol. 1^r.

⁷⁵ See Niutta, 'Da Antonio Zarotto a Bentley', pp. 25-26.

Fontaneto's volume is not an extravagant or isolated case, but one of the first expressions of a wider editorial trend, primarily Venetian, which aimed to place a constantly increasing number of new exegetical notes alongside the classical commentaries, so as to present an updated editorial product to the burgeoning reading public. The only Venetian editor who had always opposed this practice was Aldo Manuzio, whose 1501 octavo edition of Horace exclusively reproduced the texts of the Latin poet (APPENDIX [14]). Only in some reprints of the volume did the editor add at the end some brief exegetical materials: in the 1509 reprint he published his metrical treatise on the Horatian *Odes* and his scattered annotations to the Latin poet (APPENDIX [24]), while in that of 1519, along with the previous texts, he included some other metrical works, such as those of Servius and Perotti (APPENDIX [31]). Giunti followed Manuzio's example of including only Horace's texts in his 1503 Florentine edition (APPENDIX [18]), but the majority of printing houses all over Italy decided to reproduce the pattern of the multiple commentary edition.

This practice also had an echo beyond the Alps, and in 1535 the ingenious enterprise of the German humanist Georg Pictorius (1500-c. 1573) gave birth to a new editorial product, which offered readers a volume richer in varied and highly learned scholia (APPENDIX [35]). Pictorius's book was printed twice in the same year: once in Freiburg im Breisgau by Johann Faber and once in Antwerp by Michael Hillenius. Unlike the Venetian editions, that of Pictorius does not contain the works of the Latin poet, nor the text of any complete commentary, but simply gives the annotations on the whole of Horace's corpus composed by six scholars: Erasmus (c. 1466-1536), Celio Rodigino (1469-1525), Angelo Poliziano, Antonio Sabellico

(1436-1505), Giovan Battista Pio (1460-1540) and Jacopo dalla Croce (1460-c. 1526). Exactly as Fontaneto had done, Pictorius did not publish a new text but created a new edition simply by gathering together previous exegetical materials. He was probably in part inspired by the example of Guidus Morillon, the French editor who collected the chapters devoted to Horace from Poliziano's *Centuria prima* and Beroaldo's *Annotationes* and printed them after Badius's commentary in the 1507 Paris edition of the *Epistles* (APPENDIX [22]). From the miscellaneous works that the six authors composed, Pictorius selected the highest number of erudite annotations on Horace he could find and printed this assortment of notes in his volume, dividing them according to commentator. Erasmus's glosses were drawn from his *Adagia*, first published in Paris in 1500 (APPENDIX [13]) and then, in a vastly extended version, in Venice in 1507 (APPENDIX [23]).⁷⁶ Pictorius inserted almost two hundred and fifty annotations of Erasmus (sixty-five on the *Carmina*, thirteen on the *Epodes*, thirty-two on the *Ars Poetica*, fifty-six on the *Satires*, and eighty-three on the *Epistles*), which fill more than three-quarters of the volume. Rodigino's thirty-four notes (nine on the *Carmina*, one on the *Epodes*, five on the *Ars Poetica*, nine on the *Satires*, and ten on the *Epistles*) were drawn from his *Antiquarum lectionum libri*, an anthology of learned notes on classical antiquity he published in 1516 (APPENDIX [28]). Of the twelve chapters of the *Centuria prima* in which Poliziano dealt with Horatian passages, only four were included by

⁷⁶ Erasmus's *Adagia* can be read in *Opera Omnia Desideri Erasmi Roterodami* (Amsterdam: Huygens Institut-Brill, 1969-), II.1-II.9 (1993-2009). On Erasmus' relationship with Horace and the classics see Margaret Mann Phillips, 'Erasmus and the Classics', in *Erasmus*, ed. by Thomas Alan Dorey (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 1-30; Eckart Schäfer, 'Erasmus und Horaz', *Antike und Abendland*, 16 (1970), 54-67; Jozef Ijsewijn, "'Cauletum': les choux d'Erasme et d'Horace", *Moreana*, 20 (1983), 17-19; Id., 'I rapporti tra Erasmo, l'umanesimo italiano, Roma e Giulio II', in *Erasmo, Venezia e la Cultura Padana nel '500: Atti del XIX Convengno Internazionale di Studi Storici, Rovigo, Palazzo Roncale, 8-9 maggio 1993, organizzato dall'Associazione culturale Minelliana, in collaborazione con Università degli studi di Padova, Dipartimento di Storia*, ed. by Achille Olivieri (Rovigo: Minelliana, 1995), pp. 117-29; and Id., 'Erasmo', in *EO*, III, 211.

Pictorius in his edition (those on *Carm.* I, 38; *Epod.* 17; *Epist.* I, 7; and II, 1). There were also four notes by Jacopo dalla Croce, taken from his *Centum et Sexaginta Annotationes* (APPENDIX [15]): two on the *Carmina* (I, 2; I, 36) and two on the *Ars Poetica*. Pio contributed just one annotation (on *Carm.* III, 24), drawn from his *Annotationes linguae latinae graecaeque* (APPENDIX [21]), whereas twelve notes were taken from Sabellico's *Annotationes ex Plinio* (APPENDIX [17]), all of which dealt either with the *Sermones* or the *Epistles*. In total Pictorius gathered more than three hundred annotations devoted to almost the whole production of Horace. Each note offered either a possible solution to an unsolved philological question, or an erudite explanation on a mythological, historical, or cultural aspect of the ancient world mentioned by Horace. In so doing, the volume did not aim at providing a new commentary on the Latin poet, but at presenting itself as a complementary tool to deepen the reader's knowledge of Horace and provide sophisticated solutions to those questions the previous commentators had left to one side or had not answered satisfactorily.

The tendency to print new editions of Horace with an ever-increasing number of commentators reached its peak with the Venetian volume published by Girolamo Scoto (1505-1572) in 1544 (APPENDIX [38]).⁷⁷ The frontispiece of Scoto's edition

⁷⁷ On the Italian Renaissance books and their marketing strategies there is a vast bibliography. See, at least, Tiziana Pesenti, 'Stampatori e letterati nell'industria editoriale a Venezia e in terraferma', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, IV.1, 93-129; Brian Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy, The editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Charles G. Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture of the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Martin Davies, 'The Humanist Reformation of Latin and Latin Teaching', in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. by Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 47-62 (pp. 53-60); Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1998); Ennio Sandal and Angela Nuovo, *Il libro nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Brescia: Grafo, 1998); Ian Maclean, *Lecturing and the Marketplace: Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); and Andrew Taylor, 'Textual Transaction and Transformation

lists the names of seventeen commentators. The endeavour of accumulating this impressive volume of exegetical material is certainly the result of the learned research of a remarkable humanist, but unquestionably commercial considerations also played a primary role. Two elements clearly bear out this point. First, one must consider that, although on the title page the names of the commentators are divided into three categories (interpreters, scholiasts, and annotators), this division is thoroughly arbitrary, because in concrete terms the texts of the scholiasts and those of the annotators are treated in the same way in the corpus of the volume. This implies that the title-page sections between which the humanists' names are divided were simply part of a marketing strategy, intended to present the edition as a more complete and better-organized volume than all others. Secondly, the way in which the commentators' names are listed has a clear promotional aim. In the first lines of the title page Scoto enumerates the interpreters who produced a thoroughgoing commentary on one or more works of Horace (the *interpretes*). After having mentioned Acro and Porphyry, whose ancient status incontestably required their opening position, he names Parrasio (whose exegetical work on the *Art of Poetry* had never been associated with the other main commentators in an Italian edition),⁷⁸ and then Mancinelli and Badius. This strategy was presumably aimed at promoting the volume's novelty. Scoto in fact arranges a new exegetical quintet of major commentators, by banishing Britannico's text and substituting it not with Landino's work, but rather with Parrasio's recently published commentary (APPENDIX [33]).

in the Renaissance Printed Book', in *BENLW*, I, 217-38.

⁷⁸ After its first publication in 1531 in Naples, Parrasio's commentary to the *Ars Poetica* was published in Paris by Robert Etienne in 1533 along with those by Porphyry, Pseudo-Acro, and the notes by Glareano (*Quinti Horatii Flacci Ars Poetica cum trium doctissimorum commentariis, Auli Iani Parrhasii, Acronis, Porphyrii. Adiectae sunt ad calcem doctissimae Glareani annotationes*). This very edition was reprinted in Lyon in 1536 by Franciscus Justus.

Despite being inspired by a precise marketing strategy, some of Scoto's choices relied on his literary taste and echoed the tendencies of the contemporary cultural milieu. The fact that he decided not to publish the notes of Pseudo-Acro and Porphyry on the *Satires* and *Epistles* can be considered a sign of the greater importance that the Horatian lyric poems and the *Art of Poetry* held in Scoto's edition (and in general during the sixteenth century), in comparison to the attention paid to the hexametrical works of the Latin author. In fact, Scoto provides Horace with four comprehensive commentaries on his lyric works (those by Mancinelli, Acro, Porphyry and Badius, according to the order they are printed), with another four on the *Ars Poetica* (Badius, Parrasio, Acro and Porphyry), and with only one (Badius) on the *Sermones* and *Epistulae*.

The general pattern followed in Scoto's volume consists in printing the Horatian texts in the middle of the page and encircling them with the notes of the main commentators arranged in two columns. The poetical texts are subdivided in the *mise-en-page* into sections of fifteen to twenty lines, around which the exegetical material referring to the individual section is organized accordingly. In the hexametric works the number of lines printed on each page increases to fifty to sixty (since there is only one main commentary which encircles each portion of the text). The only work with a pre-editorial partition is the *Ars Poetica*; this had been subdivided by Badius into twenty-seven segments (ranging from two lines up to more than twenty in length), each of which was summarized by a *regula* of poetics.⁷⁹ At the end of each composition (or of each section for the *Art of Poetry*) the

⁷⁹ Badius divides the *Ars Poetica* into twenty-seven parts: ll. 1-13, 14-23, 24-37, 38-45, 46-72, 73-74, 75-78, 79-82, 83-85, 86-111, 112-24, 125-52, 153-78, 179-88, 189-201, 202-19, 220-33, 234-50, 251-74, 275-92, 295-332, 333-65, 366-90, 391-407, 408-33, 434-56, 457-76.

annotations devoted to that poem by the other twelve scholars are printed together without a break in continuity. Less than half of the one hundred sixty-two Horatian compositions (one hundred and three *Carmina*, seventeen *Epodes*, one *Carmen saeculare*, eighteen *Satires*, twenty-two *Epistles*, and the *Art of Poetry*) are not equipped with any extra note in addition to those of the major commentators (i.e. forty *carmina*, four iambs, and five epistles), while all the others have at least one comment, if not several. The authors of these annotations are the six of the Pictorius's 1535 edition (Erasmus, Poliziano,⁸⁰ Celio Rodigino, Antonio Sabellico, Giovan Battista Pio and Jacopo dalla Croce), in addition to two of those included by Fontaneto in his 1517 volume (Aldo Manuzio and Matteo Bonfini), and another four (Pietro Crinito [1465-1502], Antonio Tilesio [1584-1542], Francesco Robortello [1516-1567], and Enrico Glareano [1488-1563]), who had never appeared in any previous multiple commentary Horatian edition.

In order to highlight the novelty of his volume, in a separate section of the title page Scoto states that, along with the scholia of the other exegetes he collected together, he has gathered *annotationes* of Antonio Tilesio, Francesco Robortello, and Enrico Glareano. Surprisingly, there is no mention of Crinito, whose notes had never been re-published after their first appearance in the 1504 edition of *De honesta disciplina* (APPENDIX [20]); Scoto probably considered his name was too closely

⁸⁰ Poliziano's observations are not printed in full by Scoto, but are only briefly mentioned in the margins of two Horatian passages, *Epist.* I, 7, 65 and *Epod.* 17, 56, which read 'videte Politianum. Miscella[neorum] centuria I, ca[pitulo] 30', and 'lege Politianus [sic] miscellaneorum cent[uria] I ca[pitulo] 10' respectively. Since it is highly improbable that Scoto decided to deliberately give minor status to Poliziano, whose insights and intuitions could have significantly contributed to his volume, perhaps the humanist's annotations were taken into consideration only at a late stage of the printing process, when it was too late to reorganize the whole structure of the book. The fact that Scoto refers only twice to Poliziano, while Pictorius in his 1535 edition (APPENDIX [35]) lists four Horatian notes derived from the *Centuria Prima*, may suggest that the Venetian editor did not know the Pictorius volume in detail.

tied to that of Horace through the editorial fortune of Crinito's life of the poet and that, therefore, he would not have been entirely considered a novelty by his public. Thus, he pointed out in a separate section of his title page only the names of those commentators that were truly unknown, in order to underline the originality of his edition.

Although a contemporary reader may have expected Scoto's seventeen-commentator edition to be utterly comprehensive, it was not. In fact, Scoto did not mechanically include all possible annotations in his volume. In some cases, this may have been due to lack of awareness of previous publications, but in many other cases, Scoto offered a selection based on rational criteria of clarity, focus, and pertinence to the discussed matter. For example, he must have known very well the few notes Aldo Manuzio devoted to Horace (printed in the 1509 Horatian volume by Aldo himself, and reproduced in 1519), but he resolved not to publish all of them in his edition because he aimed to simplify Manuzio's comments by ignoring those sections that were overabundant with Greek quotations. He may also have wished to avoid exegetical material that overlapped with other notes he had already chosen.⁸¹ Scoto did not exclude all those comments that included Greek quotations,⁸² but rejected only those annotations where the quotations were not equipped with further explanations. Scoto's strategy of omitting explanations he considered redundant is evident in the non-inclusion of Manuzio's comments on *Epod.* 17, *Sat.* I, 1; I, 10, and *Epist.* II, 2. The first was only a metrical remark (already discussed in the metrical introduction to the epode), the second a mere rearrangement of the syntactical order

⁸¹ Presumably in accordance with these criteria, Scoto did not print two notes by Manuzio (specifically, those on *Sat.* I, 3 and *Epist.* I, 6), which consist of long Greek excerpts dealing with the same topic discussed by Horace in the lines to which the annotations refer.

⁸² See, e.g., the Aldine citations in Greek in the scholia to *Carm.* I, 1; I, 17; III; 12.

of the passage (which could have been also found in Badius's comments), and the fourth a reworked version of Pseudo-Acro and Porphyry's texts. The third passage, however, deals with the eight lines that in some branches of the Horatian textual tradition precede the actual beginning of *Sat.* I, 10, and examines Manuzio's concerns regarding their lack of authorship. Aldo's comments aimed to show that the lines were spurious, but the debate concerning them had come to an end in the first decade of the sixteenth century and they were no longer reproduced in editions of Horace, so it was unnecessary for Scoto to include this remark in his edition.

Scoto's selectiveness also applies to the commentaries by Pseudo-Acro and Porphyry, whose sections on Horatian hexametric production were omitted. Scoto, in fact, decided not to provide the *Satires* and the *Epistles* with the remarks of the ancient scholiasts, but to equip them only with the annotations of Badius. He probably considered Badius sufficient, since he often refers to the Roman commentators and closely follows their remarks in his own notes. Another important consideration is that Horace's hexametrical production was losing popularity by the 1544. This notion is supported by evidence from the translation and imitation of the Latin poet, as the following chapters will show.

Scoto's edition was received enthusiastically, as is testified by frequent largely faithful reprintings throughout the Cinquecento, even though the editor made few changes over the years. Although neither Poliziano nor Robortello's remarks were inserted in the full body of the text, with references to their works continuing to be printed as marginalia in the following editions, the references to Erasmus's notes

were altered. In the first years after the Inquisition condemned his writings in 1557,⁸³ the editors did not omit his annotations, but ascribed them to the expertise of an anonymous *interpres*. This device was used for the last time in Giovanni Maria Bonelli's 1559 edition of Horace,⁸⁴ while later Erasmus's notes stopped being printed.⁸⁵ Some of the reprints of Scoto's volume also present another minor change: the addition of the few annotations written by Pietro Vettori.⁸⁶

2.3 HORATIAN EXEGESIS 1550-1600

In the same years in which Scoto assembled his edition, the majority of the Italian commentators specifically focused their exegetical attention on Horace's *Art of Poetry*, rather than on his entire production. Although Niutta and Iurilli have stated that, apart from those commentaries on the *Ars Poetica*, no significant or important exegetical works were produced in Italy after the first appearance of Scoto's volume

⁸³ On the Inquisition's condemnation of Erasmus see Paul F. Grendler, 'The survival of Erasmus in Italy', in Id., *Culture and censorship in late Renaissance Italy and France* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), pp. 1-41.

⁸⁴ *Quinti Horatii Flacci poetae Venusini, Omnia poemata cum ratione carminum, et argumentis ubique insertis, interpretibus Acrone, Porphyryone, Iano Parrhasio, Antonio Mancinello, necnon Iodoco Badio Ascensio viris eruditissimis. Scholiisque Angeli Politiani, Marci Antonii Sabellici, Ludouici Coelii Rodigini, Baptistae Pii, Petri Criniti, Aldi Manutii, Matthaei Bonfinis, et Iacobi Bononiensis nuper adiunctis. His nos praeterea annotationes doctissimorum Antonii Thylessii Consentini, Francisci Robortelli Vtinensis addidimus. [...]* (Venice: Giovanni Maria Bonelli, 1559). See Niutta, 'Da Antonio Zarotto a Bentley', p. 27.

⁸⁵ On the reception of Erasmus in Italy see Pierre De Nolhac, *Erasme en Italie. Etude sur un episode de la Renaissance* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1888); Augustin Renaudet, *Erasme et l'Italie* (Geneve: Droz, 1954); Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Erasmus from an Italian Perspective', *RQ*, 23 (1970), 1-14; Eugenio Garin, 'Erasmus e l'umanesimo italiano', *BHR*, 33 (1971), 7-17; Myron Gilmore, 'Italian Reactions to Erasmian Humanism', in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations: Dedicated to Paul Oskar Kristeller on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. by Heiko A. Oberman and Thomas A. Brady (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 61-115; and Silvana Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus in Italia 1520-1580* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1987). Specifically on the ban of the Dutch humanist see Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus in Italia*, pp. 223-39 and 307-56.

⁸⁶ See IURILLI, p. 50 n. 129.

(1544),⁸⁷ I believe this position should be reassessed. It is true that from the 1550s the Italian Peninsula progressively lost its centrality in the fields of Horatian philology and exegesis to the Northern European countries,⁸⁸ but I would argue that, in the second half of the century, Italian commentators were not entirely absorbed by the *Ars Poetica* and that the attention they paid to the other works of the Latin poet should not be underestimated. For even if in terms of content no highly original outcome was produced, the considerable number of works composed bears witness to a continued exegetical interest in the whole Horatian corpus.

The first to publish a new commentary in Italy after the appearance of Scoto's volume was a French humanist, Marc-Antoine Muret (1526-1585), who, after having escaped his country in 1554, spent a long period in Italy (particularly in Venice and Rome). In Venice he became a close friend of the humanist and editor Paolo Manuzio, who in 1555 published Muret's new edition of Horace (APPENDIX [46]). This volume contained a newly reconstructed version of the Horatian texts, followed by the humanist's few sporadic comments (which occupy less than thirty pages of the edition) and those of Aldo Manuzio, combined with the metrical treatise of the latter. Muret's notes are not particularly insightful in terms of exegesis, but they competently dealt with philological problems.⁸⁹ This aspect, combined with the innovative and sharp reconstruction of the Horatian texts, made Muret's edition a

⁸⁷ See Niutta, 'Da Antonio Zarotto a Bentley', pp. 33-35; and IURILLI, p. 59.

⁸⁸ This point had already been highlighted by Curcio (see CURCIO, pp. 132-35).

⁸⁹ On Muret see Jozef Ijsewijn, 'Muret, Marc-Antoine', in *EO*, III, 366-67; on his activity as a philologist still valuable is Charles Dejob, *Marc-Antoine Muret, un professeur français en Italie dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Thorin, 1881). See also Virginie Leroux, 'Le philologue inspiré', in *La philologie humaniste et ses représentations dans la théorie et dans la fiction*, ed. by Perrine Galand-Hallyn, Fermand Hallyn, and Gilbert Tournoy (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2005), pp. 343-70.

highly esteemed editorial product, which was reprinted several times in the following decades (in 1559, 1561, 1570 and 1582).⁹⁰

A further step in the field of Horatian philology was made by Muret's compatriot, Denys Lambin (1520-1572).⁹¹ He was the first to establish a new version of the works of the Latin poet, by having recourse to a more methodical philology. He collated ten manuscripts of the Horatian corpus and edited them in 1561 in Lyon (APPENDIX [48]),⁹² providing each poem with a new, wide-ranging and thorough commentary. Indeed, in his *Commentaria* Lambin employed his critical and literary competence, as well as his historiographical and linguistic skills, to analyse the Horatian texts in depth. One of the new features of this commentary can be found in the detailed discussion of the *variae lectiones* Lambin constantly offers, along with a general tendency to focus more specifically on the hexametrical, rather than lyrical, production of the Latin poet, in contrast to the general practice in Italy at the time.⁹³ Lambin's edition is taken into consideration here not only because of its success in terms of the editorial market and readers' praise, nor simply because it represents an

⁹⁰ See Niutta, 'Da Antonio Zarotto a Bentley', p. 31.

⁹¹ On the increasing importance of French over Italian philology in this period see Jill Kraye, 'Italy, France and the Classical Tradition: The Origins of the Philological Commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics*', in *Italy and the Classical Tradition: Language, Thought and Poetry 1300-1600*, ed. by Carlo Caruso and Andrew Laird (London: Duckworth, 2009), pp. 118-40. See also Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, pp. 71-100; and *L'Italie et la France dans l'Europe latine du XIVe au XVIIe: Influence, emulation, traduction*, ed. by Marc Deramaix and Ginette Vagenheim (Rouen: Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2003).

⁹² Lambin's 1561 edition of Horace was based on the collation of ten manuscripts, but this number increased to sixteen for the reprint of this edition in 1567. On Lambin see Henri Potez, 'La jeunesse de Denys Lambin', *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de France*, 9 (1902), 382-413, 13 (1906), 458-498, 27 (1920), 214-51 and 409-26; Linton C. Stevens, 'Denis Lambin: Humanist, Courtier, Philologist, and Lecteur Royal', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 9 (1962), 234-41; Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger*, pp. 79-83; John O'Brien, 'Translation, Philology and Polemic in Denis Lambin's *Nicomachean Ethics* of 1558', *RS*, 3 (1989), 267-89; and Jacques Chomarat, 'Denys Lambin', in *Prosateurs latins en France au XVIe siècle*, ed. by Jacques Chomarat, Guy Bedouelle, and Stephen Bamforth (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris Sorbonne, 1987), pp. 324-40.

⁹³ Lambin, for example, compares Horace as a satirist to Aristophanes and he distinguishes on a stylistic base the genre of the *Epistle* from that of the *Satire*. For a general overview of Lambin's commentary to Horace see Dario Cecchetti, 'Lambin, Denis', in *EO*, III, 305-06.

important cornerstone in the field of sixteenth-century classical philology.⁹⁴ It is mainly mentioned here since part of its genesis is concretely related to the Italian Peninsula (Lambin worked busily on this edition between 1549 and 1552 during his stay in Rome as part of Cardinal de Tournon's entourage),⁹⁵ and because it produced interesting reactions in Italy.

As Niutta has pointed out,⁹⁶ Muret did not greet Lambin's edition with benevolence, and he added to his copy of that text some marginal manuscript annotations referring to alleged plagiarism. According to Muret, some of his notes as well as many of those by Badius were taken by his rival who presented them as his own. Despite these assertions, Muret did not fuel controversy by making his claims public. Three years after the publication of Lambin's volume, in 1564, Manuzio reprinted Muret's edition (APPENDIX [50]) and, presumably in agreement with the French editor, furnished it with a few unpublished remarks by the Venetian humanist and diplomat Gian Michele Bruto (1517-1594), who himself was keenly interested in the exegesis of classical works and an editor of Latin authors.⁹⁷ Bruto's notes were printed as marginalia accompanying the Horatian texts (while Muret's annotations stand at the end of the volume) and aimed mainly to investigate and discuss Lambin's philological choices, by either simply providing parallel readings of controversial Horatian passages, or contesting and rejecting Lambin's textual reconstructions. This edition was reprinted twice in Venice in less than ten years (in 1566 and 1570). Bruto's scholia, although not copious, are highly revealing because

⁹⁴ On the importance and fortune of Lambin's Horatian edition see Frédéric Plessis, 'Introduction', in *Oeuvres d'Horace*, ed. by Frédéric Plessis (Paris: Hachette, 1924, repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1966), pp. i-lxxviii (p. xl).

⁹⁵ See Niutta, 'Da Antonio Zarotto a Bentley', p. 31.

⁹⁶ See Niutta, 'Da Antonio Zarotto a Bentley', p. 33.

⁹⁷ See Domenico Caccamo, 'Bruto, Gian Michele', in *DBI*, XIV (1972), 730-34.

they testify that Italian philologists after the late 1540s were not uniquely focused on the *Art of Poetry*; furthermore, they were able to compete with Transalpine philology, at least up to the late 1560s. From the following decade onwards, however, Italians incontestably gave way to their European colleagues. In 1575, Henri Etienne (1528-1598) published his innovative edition of Horace in Geneva (APPENDIX [56]), and in 1578 Plantin printed Cruquius's new edition of the Latin poet in Antwerp (APPENDIX [58]); this edition included not only the original commentary by Cruquius himself (c. 1550-1621), but also the series of Blandinian scholia derived from the ancient Horatian manuscripts, now lost, of the Abbey of St Pierre in Gand. Cruquius's edition can be seen as the last phase of the sixteenth-century trend that strove to accumulate erudite notes on the Horatian corpus deriving from unusual ancient authors. A remarkable earlier occurrence was the 1555 Basel Horatian volume edited by Georg Fabricius (APPENDIX [45]); this edition collected many annotations on Horace by classical scholiasts, Porphyry and Pseudo-Acro, and previously unknown ancient commentators. Indeed, Fabricius included a small number of scholia by Caius Aemilius, Terentius Scaurus (late first century AD), whose name appears in some of Porphyry's annotations,⁹⁸ the grammarian Julius Modestus (late first–early second century AD), and Diomedes (fourth century AD).

Along with the few notes by Bruto, which appeared in Muret's 1564 edition, during the 1560s in Italy further exegetical works appeared on the whole Horatian corpus. Between 1564 and 1566 Bruto himself developed his sporadic philological remarks into a more considerable set of annotations; these focused on Horace's

⁹⁸ At the end of the *Vita cruquiana II* one reads 'commentati in illum sunt Porphyrio, Modestus et Helenius Acron. Acron omnibus melius' (Porphyry, Modestus and Acro commented him [Horace]. Acro is the best among them). Porphyry mentions Clauranus commenting *Sat.* II, 2, 83, and Terentius Scaurus commenting *Sat.* II, 5, 92. See Stephan Borzsák, 'Esegesi antica', 18.

lyrical production and mainly dealt with explanations of both obscure expressions and allusions to mythological, historical, religious, and literary aspects of the Roman world. What is more, he transformed his few explicit attacks on Lambin into sustained philological discussions of controversial passages. His new series of annotations was published once more by the Manuzio press in 1566 in a volume that included, along with the new commentary by Bruto, Lambin's edition of the Horatian corpus and the French humanist's *Commentaria* (APPENDIX [52]). A second work that witnesses an ongoing Italian exegetical interest in the lyrical corpus of the Latin poet is the commentary on the first thirty-two odes of the first book of the *Carmina* composed by Giovanni Paolo Cesario (c 1510-1568) (APPENDIX [51]). Cesario was a member of a scholarly family (his father, the humanist Giovanni Antonio, was a pupil and close friend of the philosopher Aulo Giano Parrasio) and had been a university lecturer in Rome since 1545.⁹⁹ His commentary, defined by the author as a set of *explicationes*, was published in Rome in 1566 and is composed of a series of basic remarks (probably developed in relation to his teachings) that aim to examine, albeit not very originally, 'tum sententiarum gravitatem, tum verborum elegantiam' (both the meaning of the sentences and the elegance of the phrases).¹⁰⁰ In his explanatory note to each ode the scholiast summarizes the content of the *Carmen* and offers some explanations of cultural, religious, and historical aspects mentioned in the text, often by comparing them with passages drawn from the works of other Greek and Latin authors, before paraphrasing the poem. However, as Cesario himself states in his prefatory letter, despite his will to write a commentary on the whole lyrical corpus of Horace he composed (and published) only his notes on

⁹⁹ On Cesario see Magda Vigilante, 'Cesario, Giovanni Paolo', in *DBI*, XXIV (1980), 211-13.

¹⁰⁰ See fol. 3^v of Cesario's volume (APPENDIX [51]).

the first thirty-two odes; overwhelmed by several commitments and obligations that he says he cannot openly list, and lacking time to devote to this endeavour, he was forced to give up even before finishing his work on the whole first book of the *Carmina*.¹⁰¹

Another commentary composed during the 1560s by the Siennese humanist Alessandro Piccolomini (1508-1579) also shows an interest in Horatian works beyond the *Art of Poetry*, although in contrast to those of Cesario and Bruto it remained unpublished.¹⁰² Piccolomini prepared a long and wide-ranging series of glosses devoted to all the works forming the Horatian corpus. Since he aimed to avoid compiling a new comprehensive commentary on all the Horatian texts and intended to focus only on specific aspects of them by integrating previous observations, Piccolomini composed his commentary ‘per via d’annotationi’, that is, in the form of a series of annotations. This approach was particularly suited to Piccolomini’s discontinuous engagement with the texts over a long time span of more than a decade.¹⁰³ In his annotations, Piccolomini discusses specific philological questions, clarifies literary and historical aspects to which the Horatian texts refer,

¹⁰¹ ‘Variis impeditus negotiis, quae litteris mandare non possum, mutavi sententiam, et cum sim inter ingressus ea mente ut ad metam pervenire, cognita temporum difficultate, constiti, et non sum ultra progressus. Sed illud quod iam confeceram ut aliqua ex parte publicae consulerem utilitati, placuit edere’, fol. 3^v in Cesario’s volume - APPENDIX [51] (Prevented by several commitments, which I cannot mention here, I changed my mind and, although I began this task willing to conclude it, once I realized the difficulty of accomplishing it according to a reasonable timetable, I gave up, and I did not continue my assignment. But I decided to publish that part of my work I had already completed, because I thought it could be of some use of the public).

¹⁰² On Piccolomini see Florindo Cerretta, *Alessandro Piccolomini filosofo e letterato senese del Cinquecento* (Siena: Accademia degli Intronati, 1960), still the most complete biography of the erudite. See also Andrea Baldi, *Tradizione e parodia in Alessandro Piccolomini* (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi editore, 2001). The manuscript containing the glosses by Piccolomini to the Horatian corpus is Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, ms. H. VII.25. Eugenio Refini critically edited the section devoted to the *Art of Poetry*. See Eugenio Refini, ‘Per via d’annotationi’. *Le glosse inedite di Alessandro Piccolomini all’“Ars Poetica” di Orazio* (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi editore, 2009), pp. 137-219.

¹⁰³ Piccolomini’s commentary was composed during the 1560s and the early 1570s. On Piccolomini’s exegetical method see Refini, ‘Per via d’annotationi’, pp. 33-42.

elucidates those passages that other annotators left unclear, and sometimes contradicts previous glossators and proposes his own interpretations,¹⁰⁴ as when he opposes the thesis of his master, Vincenzo Maggi (c. 1498-c. 1564). The latter maintained that the primary aim of poetry is moral teaching, while Piccolomini argued against him and Castelvetro, stating that ethical pleasure (*'il diletto etico'*) is the main purpose of poetry.¹⁰⁵

Although Piccolomini's commentary remained in manuscript form, it testifies to an enduring interest in Horace's lyrical production during the 1560s. In the same decade Italian exegetes were also at the forefront of the field of legitimizing vernacular commentaries on the classics. In 1566, Giovanni Fabrini (1516-1580) published his commentary on the complete works of Horace in Venice (APPENDIX [53]), the first to be composed in the Italian vernacular.¹⁰⁶ He provided a systematic translation of the whole corpus and detailed, if not original, explanations of the texts.¹⁰⁷ Since his commentary was meant for an audience of young students who were learning Latin, he offered simple analytical accounts and condensed the annotations of previous commentators, rather than engaging in new erudite inquiries. Nevertheless, while dealing with unresolved or obscure passages, after having presented the divergent opinions of other (not only ancient but even contemporary) exegetes, he either sided with one or more of them or offered his own solutions to the question.¹⁰⁸ As Iurilli points out,¹⁰⁹ Fabrini's volume was not only successful on the

¹⁰⁴ See Refini, *'Per via d'annotationi'*, pp. 42-48.

¹⁰⁵ See Refini, *'Per via d'annotationi'*, pp. 98-99.

¹⁰⁶ On Fabrini's biography see above, section 1.3.

¹⁰⁷ See Anna Maria Grimaldi, *'L'arte poetica nei commenti'*, pp. 86-87.

¹⁰⁸ See Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 179-83, who points out that Fabrini expresses innovative ideas when he argues that comedy and tragedy can be comparable in the use of the iambus as one of the possible metres in which they can be composed, or when 'in the perennial controversy on nature versus art, he decides unhesitatingly for the primacy of nature' (p. 182).

school editorial market but also won fame all over Italy for the democratic nature of its vernacular translation and exegesis.¹¹⁰ Moreover, by making the Horatian texts more available (and comprehensible) for a larger reading public, Fabrini's work helped to present the Latin poet as an easier and more readily accessible model for the Italian literary world.

A further, more explicit step in this field was made in another work printed in Venice one year after the first appearance of Fabrini's volume. In 1567, Giovanni Bariletto published a volume, entitled *Quadrivio*, by the Italian polygraph Orazio Toscanella (c. 1520- c. 1579). This work can be considered a sort of handbook for composing literary works. It is divided in four sections: the first three are devoted to the proper composition of historical texts, epistles, and dialogues respectively, while in the fourth section, eloquently entitled *Alcuni artificii delle Ode di Oratio*, Toscanella focuses on lyric poetry; this section displays several rhetorical features and elements of content that derived from Horace's *Carmina* and *Epodes*, and presents them as literary examples for Italian poets (APPENDIX [54]).¹¹¹ Toscanella quotes many Horatian passages in Latin on the same topic or that present the same rhetorical framework; he also carefully explains their content or their structure in

¹⁰⁹ IURILLI, pp. 62-63.

¹¹⁰ On the school editorial market in Italy see Paul Gehl, 'Advertising or *Fama*? Local Markets for Schoolbooks in Sixteenth-Century Italy', in *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities*, ed. by Benito Rial Costas (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 69-100.

¹¹¹ See IURILLI, pp. 63 and 127. On Toscanella see Luciano Artese, 'Orazio Toscanella, un maestro del XVI secolo', *Annali dell'Istituto di Filosofia dell'Università di Firenze*, 5 (1983), 61-95; Lina Bolzoni, 'Orazio Toscanella: il mestiere del letterato fra scuola e editoria', in Id., *La stanza della memoria. Modelli letterari e iconografici nell'età della stampa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), pp. 53-56; and Renzo Bragantini, 'Poligrafi e umanisti volgari', in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. by Enrico Malato, 14 vols (Rome: Salerno, 1996), IV (*Il Primo Cinquecento*), 681-720 (pp. 687-88). For a general consideration on Toscanella's volume see Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p. 254. In the 1590s Marcantonio Mazzone composed a rhetorical catalogue of Horatian images and tropes, entitled *I fiori della poesia dichiarati e raccolti da don Marcantonio Mazzone di Miglionico da tutte l'opere di Virgilio, Ovidio e Horatio [...]* [Venice: Francesco de' Franceschi, 1592-1593]), which is not dissimilar from the fourth section of Toscanella's *Quadrivio*.

Italian, depicting them as models to be imitated by contemporary poets. Although Toscanella's *Alcuni artifici* cannot be considered a proper commentary on the Latin author, it works along the same lines as Fabrini to disseminate Horatian texts to a public without Latin, and to implicitly connect Horace's lyrics with vernacular poetry, which was looking for new literary models to follow at the beginning of the second half of the Cinquecento, as we will see in the next two chapters.

As observed above, the exegetical attention that was paid to Horace during the 1560s, and how this was by no means solely focused on the *Ars Poetica*, producing noteworthy, if not very original, commentaries on many works of the Latin poet. A similar trend can be seen in the critical discussion of the last decades of the sixteenth century, although in this case the exegetical works devoted to Horace bear witness to a degree of critical stagnation. Generally, interpreters had commented at length on the Latin author's production, and, as Weinberg has pointed out,¹¹² from the late 1570s even those who were interested in exegesis and literary criticism focused mainly on the theorization of new genres rather than further annotating the Horatian corpus. Moreover, the new Counter-Reformation culture called for less heterodox interpretations of the classics, and ones in line with the new educational practices. For these reasons Horace's texts, heretofore considered suitable to be taught in colleges like those of the Jesuits or the Collegio Greco in Rome,¹¹³ started to be censored and purged of any obscene or indecorous references. The Jesuits were assigned the task of censoring the poet's texts, as well as those of many others, and

¹¹² See Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 246-49.

¹¹³ See IURILLI, p. 46; and Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy*, p. 379.

their official printer, Vittorio Eliano, published the first edition of the *Horatius purgatus* in Rome in 1569.¹¹⁴

Not long afterwards, in the 1580s and 1590s, some Latin exegetical works on Horace, as well as some vernacular treatises, appeared with the aim of presenting his poems as a model to be followed in the field of Italian literature. Although their content was far from being highly innovative, the mere fact that these works were composed suggests that critical interest in Horace was not extinguished. Specific pieces are devoted to single poems, such as Ugolino Martelli's 1579 commentary on ode IV, 2 (APPENDIX [59]), Angelo Pagnoni's 1591 *Commentarius* on the first satire (APPENDIX [69]), and Aldo Manuzio the Younger's 1586 explanation of the second epode (APPENDIX [62]), as well as broader exegetical works. Of some interest is Federico Ceruti's commentary to the *Carmina, Epodes, Satires, Epistles*, and *Art of Poetry*, published between 1585 and 1588 in Verona (APPENDIX [61]). Ceruti (1541-1611) labelled his work as a *Paraphrasis*, since it conveys clarifications of obscure passages of Horatian texts in the form of a paraphrase, without adding too much to the critical debate.¹¹⁵ Along with Ceruti, another exegete devoted his efforts to commenting upon part of the Horatian corpus: Bernardino Partenio da Spilimbergo (1520-1589), who published his *Commentarius* on the poet's lyrics

¹¹⁴ *Quintus Horatius Flaccus ab omni obscenitate purgatus. Ad usum Gymnasiorum Societatis Iesu. Aldi Maniutii de metris horatianis. Eiusdem annotationes in Horatium* (Rome: Vittorio Eliano, 1569 – APPENDIX [55]). See IURILLI, pp. 46 and 128; and Niutta, 'Da Antonio Zarotto a Bentley', p. 36. On the general process of censorship in Counter-Reformation Italy see, among the many references, Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Id., *Culture and Censorship*, passim; and Christopher Black, *Censorship and the Index in the Roman and Iberian Inquisitions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

¹¹⁵ See Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, II, 226-28; IURILLI, pp. 58-59; and Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', p. 76.

(APPENDIX [60]) in Venice in 1584.¹¹⁶ Partenio interpreted the *Odes* and the *Epodes* by mainly focusing on their rhetorical tropes and features and by persistently highlighting how these aspects could be imitated by contemporary poets.¹¹⁷ His work met with a certain degree of success and was re-published once more in Venice in 1585 by Aldo Manuzio the Younger.¹¹⁸ Not dissimilarly from Partenio, Marcantonio Mazzone (c. 1540-post 1604) composed a vernacular treatise, published between 1592 and 1593, and entitled *I fiori della poesia dichiarati e raccolti da don Marcantonio Mazzone di Miglionico da tutte l'opere di Virgilio, Ovidio et Horatio* (APPENDIX [70]), in order to invite contemporary authors to imitate Horace in their rhymes. As the title suggests, this work is a collection of quotations drawn from Virgil, Horace, and Ovid's poems, organized according to rhetorical and thematic criteria ('materie e descrizioni' and 'similitudini'). In each section Mazzone gathers several passages of the three Latin authors dealing with the same topic or presenting the same rhetorical structure; his declared aim is that these extracts will be studied to polish one's style and serve as models to be imitated.

2.4 THE ART OF POETRY AND ITS EXEGESIS

The number (if not the content) of the exegetical works devoted to the lyrical production of Horace during the second half of the sixteenth century is a sign of an ongoing interest in the *Carmina*, specifically from the point of view of poetical imitation (as chapters 4 and 5 will show). However, from a critical perspective the

¹¹⁶ On Partenio see *Bernardino Partenio e l'Accademia di Spilimbergo, 1538-1543*, ed. by Caterina Furlan (Venice: Marsilio, 2001).

¹¹⁷ See IURILLI, p. 58.

¹¹⁸ See IURILLI, p. 57.

most insightful analyses of those years were devoted to the *Art of Poetry*. In 1587 two important commentaries on the *Ars* appeared, one by Tomas Correa (1536-1595), a Portuguese Jesuit who taught in Bologna (APPENDIX [64]), and the other by Nicolò Cologno (c. 1512-1602), a professor of moral philosophy in Padua (APPENDIX [63]). While Correa composed his work in the form of a set of explanations to the text and focused on specific aspects, such as the function of the chorus in tragedies and the relation between tragedy and comedy (which, according to Correa, was the oldest among the dramatic genres),¹¹⁹ Cologno devoted his text to presenting Horace's *Ars* as a systematic work, which might appear obscure for its brevity but did not, as others maintained, lack internal order. In fact, Cologno's text, eloquently entitled *Methodus de arte poetica*, aimed to make plain the method followed by the Latin author in his *Ars*.¹²⁰ Cologno's intention was not only to highlight Horace's text as a prescriptive work in the fields of stylistic grammar and rhetoric; as Iurilli has pointed out,¹²¹ he also wanted through this reaffirmation to limit the literary anarchy that characterized various literary genres in those decades, above all in the culture of the Veneto.¹²² The themes developed in Cologno's *Methodus* led to a lively critical debate in the circle of the University of Padua.¹²³ In

¹¹⁹ On Correa see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 215-21; and Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 75-76. On the primogeniture of comedy compared with tragedy, Correa stated in his *In librum de arte poetica Quinti Horatii Flacci explanationes* (p. 77) that 'post pastoritium carmen extitit comoedia, ex illa tragoedia deinde satyra' (after the bucolic poetry comedy arose, from which tragedy and then satire derived).

¹²⁰ On Cologno see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 221-24 and 234-35; Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 71-72; Lines, *Aristotle's Ethics*, pp. 440, 516, and 538; and Christopher Carlsmith, 'L'identità di Nicolò Cologno, insegnante a Bergamo nel Cinquecento', *Atti dell'Ateneo di Bergamo*, 73 (2009), 177-90.

¹²¹ See IURILLI, p. 56.

¹²² See Guido Baldassarri, "'Acutezza" e "ingegno": teoria e pratica del gusto barocco', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, IV.1, 223-47; Ginetta Auzzas, 'Le nuove esperienze della narrativa: il romanzo', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, IV.1, 249-95; and Anna Laura Bellina and Thomas Walker, 'Il melodramma: poesia e musica nell'esperienza teatrale', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, IV.1, 409-32.

¹²³ On the dispute between Riccoboni and Cologno see Bernard Frischer, 'Rezeptionsgeschichte and Interpretation: The Quarrel of Antonio Riccoboni and Niccolò Cologno about the Structure of

1591 Antonio Riccoboni (1541-599), professor of Latin and Greek eloquence, published an essay entitled *Dissensio* (APPENDIX [65]), in which, against the theses put forward by his colleague, he argued that the letter to the Pisones was unsystematic because it was only an epistle and therefore was not, unlike Aristotle's *Poetics*, structured following the rules of philosophical treatises.¹²⁴ In order to clarify the content and the precepts of Horace's *Ars*, Riccoboni proposes to reorganize the text by subdividing it into short sections and rearranging them according to the coherent order followed by Aristotle in his poetical treatise. In order to emphasize his ideas, Riccoboni decided to make them interact with those of Cologno. Hence, a couple of months later he published a work entitled *Antonii Riccoboni Defensor seu pro eius opinione de Horatii Epistola ad Pisones in Nicolaum Colonium* (APPENDIX [66]), in which he presented in dialogue form the theses he had outlined in his previous text, juxtaposed with those of his colleague. Unsurprisingly, the latter is depicted as defeated by his opponent in the literary fiction of the dialogue. At the end of the summer of that year (1591), Cologno replied to Riccoboni with a public letter (APPENDIX [67]); there he maintained that his adversary had misunderstood (at least partially) the *Ars Poetica*, but, since he was not argumentative, he hoped to bring the controversy to an end. After a few weeks Riccoboni answered in turn with a reconciling epistle, entitled *Conciliatio*

Horace's *Ars Poetica*', in *Zeitgenosse Horaz. Der Dichter und seine Leser seit zwei Jahrtausenden*, ed. by Helmut Krasser and Ernst A. Schmidt (Tubingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1996), pp. 68-116; Id., 'Horace and the End of Renaissance Humanism in Italy: Quarrels, Religious Correctness, Nationalism, and Academic Protectionism', *Arethusa*, 28 (1995), 265-88; Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 71-75; IURILLI, pp. 56-57; and Christopher Carlsmith, 'A Roman Poet in the Venetian Republic: The Reception of Horace in Sixteenth-Century Bergamo', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 44.4 (2013), 963-84 (in particular pp. 981-83).

¹²⁴ On Riccoboni see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 231-35; Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 72-74; and Alberto Viola, *L'arte poetica di Orazio nella critica italiana e straniera*, 2 vols (Naples: Stabilimento Tipografico Pierro e Veraldi nell'Istituto Casanova, 1901-1906), I, 105-06.

(APPENDIX [68]), which marked the conclusion of their dispute, although in 1611 an unpublished text by Cologno, in which he opposed other theories supported by his rival, was posthumously printed in Bergamo (APPENDIX [71]).

The quarrel between Cologno and Riccoboni was probably the most lively one related to literary criticism that broke out in the late decades of the sixteenth century; a period, as we have seen, characterized by a progressive depletion of the critical driving force linked with Horace's works in general, and the *Art of Poetry* in particular. Between the second half of the 1540s and the late 1560s, instead, the epistle to the Pisones had been one of the core subjects of contemporary exegesis and critical debates in Italy. The growth of interpretations of and commentaries on the *Ars* in these decades was primarily due to the fact that in the mid-1530s an accurate Latin translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* had been published in Venice,¹²⁵ along with a growing exegetical ferment among academies. All this made this major critical text available to the poetical exegetes, who started to investigate Horace's *Ars* through the lens of the Aristotelian treatise. In accordance with the importance the *Poetics* held for contemporary Horatian commentators, this phase was defined by Marvin Herrick as the age of 'the fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian literary criticism'.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Aristotle's *Poetics* was translated into Latin for the first time by Giorgio Valla and published in 1498, surprisingly without meeting any success. It was later translated for a second time in 1524 by Alessandro Pazzi de' Medici, whose son, Guglielmo, printed it in Venice in 1536. This work had a noteworthy *fortuna* and disseminated the knowledge of the Aristotelian treatise all over Europe. For a general overview of the presence of Aristotle's *Poetics* in the Cinquecento see Daniel Javitch, 'The Assimilation of Aristotle's *Poetics* in Sixteenth-Century Italy', in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, III, 53-65.

¹²⁶ See Marvin Herrick, *The Fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism, 1531-1555* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1946). Herrick made the age of 'fusion' start in 1531, when Parrasio's commentary on the *Ars poetica* was printed, only because Parrasio quoted Aristotle in his text, but, as Cerasuolo pointed out (see 'Storia critica dell'*Ars*', pp. 279-283), this was due simply to the fact that Aristotle was cited as an authority by Cicero and, later on, by Landino, but Parrasio did not know the *Poetics*, as his remarks on Horace openly show. The first Italian commentator who used the content and the categories of Aristotle's treatise to comment on Horace was Francesco Pedemonte, whose work on the *Ars Poetica* was published in 1546 (see APPENDIX [39]). For this reason

Nevertheless, even before the revival of the *Poetics* there had been several works devoted to the *Art of Poetry*, such as those already cited by Landino, Badius, Bonfini, and Britannico, and the commentaries by Pomponio Gaurico (1511) and Aulo Giano Parrasio (1531). These texts of course illuminated and elucidated the Horatian epistle on the basis of the categories of Latin antiquity's major rhetorical works (such as the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero's *De Oratore* and *Orator*, and Quintilian's *Institutiones*), without employing Aristotle's *Poetics* at all. Both Gaurico and Parrasio's texts were produced in Pomponio Leto's Academy in Rome. The former can be considered the first exegetical work exclusively devoted to the *Ars Poetica* ever published (APPENDIX [25]). Gaurico's commentary is very innovative both because it is not structured as a set of annotations but as a paraphrase, and because it mainly aims to draw rules on poetics from the Horatian text, rather than to focus on philological questions.¹²⁷ This is made evident first by the author's organization of his work as a series of direct speeches delivered by Horace himself to the Pisones in order to clarify the meaning of his text, and, secondly, by the introduction in the margins of the volume of several brief rubrics on poetics, which assertively summarize the topics developed in the portions into which the text was divided. At the end of the book, all the poetical rubrics are gathered together in a brief commentary, presented by the author as a sort of canon of different literary genres (*Legis poeticae epilogus*).¹²⁸ Despite its new traits, this work enjoyed no publishing

Cerasuolo suggests shifting the beginning of the age of 'fusion of Horatian and Aristotelian Literary Criticism' from 1531 to 1546.

¹²⁷ On Gaurico's commentary see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 45-46 and 88-90; Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 57-58; Cerasuolo, 'Storia critica dell'*Ars*', p. 281; and IURILLI, pp. 47-48.

¹²⁸ On Gaurico's *Legis poeticae epilogus* see Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, p. 251.

success and was reprinted only once, in 1541 in Rome at the initiative of the author's brother, the astronomer Luca Gaurico (APPENDIX [36]).¹²⁹

Leto's Academy and the Roman milieu of the beginning of the sixteenth century, which stimulated Gaurico to devote himself to the *Ars Poetica*, probably also influenced Parrasio's project on Horace's works. He had first been in Rome between 1497 and 1499, and then during the 1510s when Pope Leo X asked him to teach eloquence at the *Studium Urbis*.¹³⁰ He devoted one of his lectures to the epistle to the Pisones, and presumably on this occasion he wrote a first draft of what became his commentary to the *Ars*, which was published posthumously in 1531 in Naples by Bernardino Martirano (APPENDIX [33]). Parrasio's *Commentaria luculentissima* starts with some general considerations on the divine origin of poetry and its civilizing power, exactly like that of Landino; the commentator then stresses the importance of both literary judgement and art for composing poetry at the expense of *furor*.¹³¹ In order to define what poetry is, and to delineate the proper competences of a poet, Parrasio reads the *Ars* through the lens of Ciceronian rhetoric, arguing that the poet must possess not only an encyclopaedic knowledge but also an expertise of both

¹²⁹ See *I Gaurico e il rinascimento meridionale. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Montecorvino Rovella, 10-12 aprile 1988*, ed. by Alberto Granese, Sebastiano Martelli, and Enrico Spinelli (Salerno: Centro Studi sull'Umanesimo Meridionale, 1992).

¹³⁰ On Parrasio see Francesco Lo Parco, *Aulo Giano Parrasio. Studio bibliografico-critico* (Vasto: Anelli, 1899); Louis Delaruelle, 'Un professeur italien d'autrefois. Etude sur le séjour à Milan d'Aulo Giano Parrasio', in *Mélange de Philologie à Ferdinand Brunot* (Paris: Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, 1904), pp. 81-102; Francesco Lo Parco, 'Aulo Giano Parrasio e Andrea Alciato', in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, 7 (1907), 160-97; Michele Fuiano, *Insegnamento e cultura a Napoli nel Rinascimento* (Naples: Libreria Scientifica Editrice, 1973), pp. 95-106; Brian Richardson, 'Pucci, Parrasio and Catullus', *IMU*, 19 (1976), 277-89; Francesco D'Episcopo, *Aulo Giano Parrasio fondatore dell'Accademia Cosentina* (Cosenza: Pellegrini, 1982); Ugo Leonetti, *L'accademia Cosentina nel secolo XVI* (Cosenza: Tipografia Di Giuseppe, 2000); Vecce, 'La filologia', pp. 149-50; and Francesco Tateo, 'Parrasio, Aulo Giano', in *EO*, III, 388-90.

¹³¹ On Parrasio's *Commentaria luculentissima* see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 96-100; Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 57-59; IURILLI, pp. 48-50; Cesaruolo, 'Storia critica dell'*Ars*', pp. 275-79; Tateo, 'Parrasio, Aulo Giano', 390; and Moss, 'Horace in the Sixteenth Century', pp. 69-71.

human nature and moral philosophy,¹³² since poetry aims to ‘inflamm men’s souls and invite them to good living by means of examples’.¹³³ The work by Parrasio was reprinted several times in the 1530s (not only in Italy); it then entered the canon of the Horatian commentators established by Scoto in 1544. Yet Parrasio’s interest in Horace was not limited to the *Art of Poetry*. He intensively worked on the whole corpus of the Latin poet, as is clear from the rich manuscript annotations he wrote in the margins of one of the print copies of Horace he owned.¹³⁴ These observations were never organized into a structured commentary, but they show a habitual reading of and a constant critical attention paid to the Latin poet. Both of these aspects, along with a general interest in Horace’s works, were at the heart of the academy that Parrasio contributed to establishing in Cosenza.¹³⁵ This cultural milieu nourished *literati* such as Antonio Tilesio, Giovanni Paolo Cesario, and Sertorio Quattromani, whose works are the focus of the next chapter.

As we have seen, then, the way in which literary criticism approached and interpreted the epistle to the Pisones changed significantly in the 1540s when Aristotle’s *Poetics* became available in a new Latin translation. The *Ars* did not cease to be analysed through the rhetorical categories of invention, disposition, and elocution, but there were attempts to connect the *Ars* to the *Poetics* within a frame of Aristotelian influence and on the assumption that the ideas of the two works must be the same. In these decades the *Poetics* was at the centre of literary debate not only

¹³² See Cerasuolo, ‘Storia critica dell’*Ars*’, p. 277.

¹³³ Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 98.

¹³⁴ See the copy of the Horatian works printed in Venice by Filippo di Pietro in 1479 (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, X C 40). The majority of the notes, as IURILLI (p. 49 n. 126) points out, deals with Horace’s lyrical production, while less annotated are the *Epistles* and the *Satires*. See *PCL*, pp. 244-47; and Caterina Tristano, *La biblioteca di un umanista calabro* (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, [n. d.] [but 1988 or 1989]), pp. 56, 120, 254, and 351. On the importance of the marginal notes as a proto-form of commentary see Lo Monaco, ‘Alcune osservazioni’, pp. 116-17.

¹³⁵ See D’Episcopo, *Aulo Giano Parrasio*, and IURILLI, p. 49.

because it helped to investigate and clarify the content of the epistle to the Pisones, but also because, in a broader perspective, it offered Italian *literati* the key to analyse and sketch the forms of both old and (above all) new literary genres.¹³⁶ Accordingly, poetry was charged with a new active faculty, since it was placed, along with dialectic, logic, and historiography, among thegnoseological sciences. Consequently the poet, who after the sack of Rome (1527) had gradually been losing his public function as a poet-theologian and counsellor of rulers, was provided with a new social position.¹³⁷

The *Poetics* had a core importance all over the Peninsula, but its first revival began in Venice, where both Pazzi's translation of the treatise and Pedemonte's commentary on the *Ars* (1546), the first to take Aristotle's text into account, were published. Furthermore, the first commentary on the *Poetics* is also linked to the Veneto since its author, Francesco Robortello, lived in the city of Padua for many years and it was there that he composed his commentary, although he published it in Florence (1548). Finally, it was again in Padua that Vincenzo Maggi taught for several years (from 1528 to 1543) and, influenced by the Accademia degli Infiammati, wrote the first detailed and systematic exegesis of the *Art of Poetry* on

¹³⁶ See, among the many critical works, Joel Elias Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1908), pp. 136-48; Carlo Dionisotti, 'Fortuna e sfortuna del Boiardo nel Cinquecento', in *Il Boiardo e la critica contemporanea*, ed. by Giuseppe Aneschi (Florence: Olschki, 1970), pp. 220-41; *Trattati di poetica e retorica del Cinquecento*, ed. by Bernard Weinberg, 4 vols (Rome: Laterza, 1970-1974); Franco Musarra, 'Poesia e società in alcuni commentatori cinquecenteschi della 'Poetica' di Aristotele (Francesco Robortello, Vincenzo Maggi, Ludovico Castelvetro, Alessandro Piccolomini)', *Il Contesto*, 3 (1977) 33-75; Daniel Javitch, *Proclaiming a Classic: the Canonisation of 'Orlando Furioso'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); and Klaus Hempfer, *Lecture discrepanti. La ricezione dell' 'Orlando Furioso' nel Cinquecento* (Modena: Panini, 2005).

¹³⁷ See Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, p. 252; and Cerasuolo, 'Storia critica dell'*Ars*', p. 283.

the basis of the Aristotelian treatise, on which he also commented.¹³⁸ In 1550 Maggi published a volume containing both his commentary on the *Poetics*, followed by the annotations on the same text written by Bartolomeo Lombardo from Verona, and his interpretation of the Horatian epistle (APPENDIX [41]). Maggi stated that the *Ars* had no literary autonomy since it was entirely subordinate to the Greek treatise. In support of his theory, Maggi divided the text of the Latin poet into forty-seven sections, each of which was compared with excerpts of the *Poetics* to show the perfect correspondence existing between the two works. This procedure was different from that of Francesco Pedemonte, the first exegete to compare the Greek treatise with the Horatian epistle,¹³⁹ who had simply juxtaposed passages of Aristotle's text with those by Cicero, Quintilian, and the grammarians of late antiquity to interpret the *Ars* (APPENDIX [39]).¹⁴⁰ Maggi, instead, blended the two poetical works and made them interact, without showing any awareness that they were separated by over three centuries. Only Pedemonte acted in full awareness of the historical gulf existing between the two authors: for example, he justified the different opinions Horace and Aristotle had regarding the possibility of showing Medea killing her children on stage by referring to the different theatrical practises of

¹³⁸ On Maggi's commentary see Weiberg, pp. 119-22; Cerasuolo, 'Storia critica dell'*Ars*', pp. 285-88; Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', p. 70; and IURILLI, p. 53. On Maggi see Elisabetta Selmi, 'Maggi, Vincenzo', in *DBI*, LXVII (2006), 365-69. On the *Infiammati* Academy see, at least, Francesco Bruni, *Sperone Speroni e l'Accademia degli Infiammati* (Naples: Loffredo, 1967); Gino Benzoni, 'Le accademie', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, IV.1, 131-62; and Valerio Vianello, *Il letterato, l'accademia, il libro: contribute sulla cultura veneta del Cinquecento* (Padua: Antenore, 1988).

¹³⁹ Pedemonte did not subdivide the *Ars Poetica* according to the new categories he found in the Aristotelian treatise, but, following the division of the Horatian text done by previous commentators, he paralleled some of those sections with passages of the Greek treatise that dealt with similar topics. He envisaged an Aristotelian echo in those lines Horace devoted to the imitation theory, the notion of necessary poetical order, the description of tragedy and its inner partitions, and the necessity to deal with coherent and probable actions in poems. See Cerasuolo, 'Storia critica dell'*Ars*', p. 282.

¹⁴⁰ See Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 111-17; Cerasuolo, 'Storia critica dell'*Ars*', pp. 281-82; and Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 59-61.

Horace's Rome and Aristotle's Greece.¹⁴¹ Although Maggi considered the two works to be an attempt to lecture on poetical rules and to teach how to compose verse, he also realized that there were some inconsistencies between the *Poetics* and the *Ars*. Maggi pointed out, for example, that whereas the Greek philosopher admitted no exception to the principle of verisimilitude, the Latin poet stated that painters and poets could describe whatever they preferred as long as they did not abuse this license. Nonetheless, Maggi considered these sections, where it seemed the echo of the Aristotelian precepts was fainter, both as Horace's attempts to take a distance from his model, in order not to seem too repetitive, and the effect of the satirical tone of the Latin epistle.¹⁴²

Francesco Robortello (1516-1567), another commentator on both the Horatian epistle and the Aristotelian treatise, sustained that the *Ars* must be considered as a text that had a strong satirical intent. In 1548 he published a wide-ranging commentary on the *Poetics* closed by a short appendix (forty-one pages, compared to more than three hundred dedicated to the Aristotelian treatise) devoted to the *Ars* and eloquently entitled *Paraphrasis in librum Horatii qui vulgo de arte poetica ad Pisones inscribitur* (APPENDIX [40]). In his paraphrase of the Horatian text, Robortello clearly stated that its author wrote his epistle to the Pisones in order to criticize those among his contemporaries who claimed to be poets, despite their lack of literary qualities.¹⁴³ This goal therefore gives the text a satirical tone. However, the commentator does not believe that the Horatian epistle reflects a coherent list of

¹⁴¹ See Pedemonte, *Ecphrasis in Horatii Flacci artem poeticam* (APPENDIX [39]), fol. 31^v. See also Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 59-60.

¹⁴² See Cerasuolo, 'Storia critica dell'*Ars*', p. 288; and Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 119 and 122.

¹⁴³ On Robortello's commentary see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 118-19; Cerasuolo, 'Storia critica dell'*Ars*', p. 283; and IURILLI, p. 55.

literary precepts, since, according to him, the text is not an *Ars* but a disorganized and unsystematic letter, whose appeal lies precisely in its disorderliness.¹⁴⁴ On these points, Maggi was in complete disagreement with Robortello. According to him, the *Ars* is very well structured and it perfectly follows a consistent order, since the topics discussed in the epistle move from the most important in terms of poetical composition, that is how to compose the *fabula*, to minor digressions and poetical details.¹⁴⁵ Although Maggi's commentary, printed in Venice, was inspired by the Paduan debates on the Horatian *Ars* developed in the Accademia degli Infiammati, it was composed in Ferrara, where Maggi had been a professor in the city's *Studium* since 1543, and was addressed to a Ferrarese public, as the prefatory epistle testifies.¹⁴⁶ One of Maggi's disciples, Giovan Battista Pigna (1529-1575), also wrote a commentary on the *Ars Poetica* in the same cultural milieu. Weinberg defined his work on the Horatian epistle as 'one of the lengthiest and most detailed of the century'.¹⁴⁷ Published in Venice in 1561 (APPENDIX [47]), Pigna's *Poetica horatiana* is entirely based on parallels between the Aristotelian treatise and the epistle of the Latin poet, whose verses are divided into eighty sections and provided with a recapitulatory title, which focuses on the poetical precept contained in the section of the text.¹⁴⁸ Pigna reads the *Ars* mainly through the lens of the theory of literary genres and systematizes it in a thematic repertoire of rules on poetics. At the end of his volume he prints a 'Poeticae horatianae arbor', an alphabetical catalogue of the eighty precepts drawn from the Horatian text.

¹⁴⁴ See IURILLI, p. 55.

¹⁴⁵ See Cerasuolo, 'Storia critica dell'*Ars*', p. 287.

¹⁴⁶ See IURILLI, p. 53.

¹⁴⁷ Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 157.

¹⁴⁸ On Pigna's commentary see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 157-62; Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 69-70; IURILLI, p. 53; and Moss, 'Horace in the Sixteenth Century', pp. 72-74.

At the start of the 1560s a voice of dissent arose against the critical method applied by Robortello, Maggi, and Pigna in their respective commentaries. It was that of Bartolomeo Maranta (1500-1571), a natural scientist from Venosa who worked in Naples, Pisa, and Rome, and who in 1561 delivered six lessons in the convent of San Pietro a Maiella, in Naples, where the meetings of the Accademia Napoletana generally took place.¹⁴⁹ Maranta openly states that in order to better understand both the *Ars Poetica* and the poetic art in general, it is not only necessary to compare passages from the *Poetics* with those of the Horatian epistle, but also to avoid subdividing the content of the letter to the Pisones according to the rhetorical categories of invention, disposition, and elocution (as was commonly done by the contemporary commentators); rather, one should divide the text exclusively on the basis of the categories of the Aristotelian treatise. Maranta's new exegetical theory did not generate a great deal of interest, partly because his lessons were never published, remaining in manuscript form,¹⁵⁰ and partly because illuminating the content of the Horatian epistle by paralleling it not with just one major work but with several was a widespread and major practice. Above all, such comparisons involved major classical rhetorical texts, such as those by Cicero, Quintilian, and the grammarians of late antiquity, since there was no clear perception of fixed borders between the fields of poetics and rhetoric. Commentators considered Aristotle's authority as fundamental to deepening their analysis of the letter to the Pisones, but they would never have employed it as a sole authority for their investigations. This

¹⁴⁹ On Maranta see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 486-94.

¹⁵⁰ A Latin summary of the first of the six lessons Maranta delivered in Naples and the notes taken in Italian during the other five lessons are conserved in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, mss. R 118 sup. and R 126 sup. On the content of these manuscripts see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 162-63. For the attribution of these lessons to Maranta see Id., 'Bartolomeo Maranta: Nuovi manoscritti di critica letteraria', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 24 (1955), 115-25.

point is attested by the fact that, after a decade during which the *Poetics* was used as a new primary and original work to illustrate the Horatian epistle, always alongside major classical rhetorical texts, in the 1560s one can observe a general tendency to employ, along with or instead of the Aristotelian treatise, the works of Plato.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, the lessons delivered by Maranta demonstrate a pervasive and diffuse exegetical interest in the Horatian *Ars*. Another hidden witness to the attention paid to the letter to the Pisones is an undated manuscript text (presumably of the 1560s), containing the annotations to the *Ars Poetica* written by Pietro Angeli da Barga (1517-1596), a Florentine humanist.¹⁵² These notes are mainly a paraphrase of the Horatian epistle, but Angeli also offers some interesting insights, while pointing out there are not only echoes but also differences between the Greek treatise and the text of the Latin poet.

The links between the *Ars* and the *Poetics* likewise lay at the centre of the investigations of three other commentators. All of them structured their works according to a similar pattern: they paraphrased the text of the *Ars*, providing lexical correspondences to clarify obscure expressions, devoted considerable space to textual criticism, quoting Latin and Greek passages abundantly, and fragmented the Horatian epistle into small sections in order to highlight the concise precepts they found in the Latin work. Despite these common traits, the differences between their approaches were many and their opposite ideas brought two of them into conflict.

¹⁵¹ For a general overview of the phenomenon see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 195-200 and 250-348, *Platon et Aristote à la Renaissance. Actes du XVIe colloque international d'études humanistes* (Paris: Vrin, 1976); and Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA-London: Harvard University Press, 1983).

¹⁵² On Angeli see Alberto Asor-Rosa, 'Angeli, Pietro', in *DBI*, III (1961), 201-04; Giovanni Cipriani, 'Pietro Angeli da Barga e la politica culturale di Cosimo, Francesco e Ferdinando de' Medici', in *Barga medicea e le 'enclaves' fiorentine della Versilia e della Lunigiana*, ed. by Carla Sodini (Florence: Olschki, 1983), pp. 101-25; and Lines, *Aristotle's Ethics*, pp. 427-28. On his commentary see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 156-57.

The opponents were Jacopo Grifoli (c. 1500-1557), a professor of eloquence in Venice, and Giason De Nores (1530-1590), professor of moral philosophy in Padua.¹⁵³ In the former's 1550 *Interpretatio* of the *Ars Poetica* (APPENDIX [42]), the Latin text was presented as a philosophical work, strictly modelled on that of Aristotle, and composed of several independent juxtaposed sections. Grifoli's reading of the Latin text as a *liber*, his dismissive attitude toward epic (while he lingered on the tragic and comic genres), as well as his assertions on the composition of the *fabula* were strongly contested by De Nores in his own 1553 *Interpretatio* (APPENDIX [43]). De Nores saw the *Ars* as merely a letter, and he therefore did not look for parallels of every line of the text in the Aristotelian treatise. Like Maggi and Robortello, De Nores described the tone of some sections of the *Ars Poetica* as ironic, and he considered this as proof of the proximity of the text to the *Epistles* and *Satires*. De Nores was also opposed to Grifoli's idea of an excessive fragmentation of the text, and for this reason, although he serially focused on single aspects, he linked each section with the others in order to safeguard the integrity of the composition. Moreover, De Nores questioned Grifoli's attribution of the Horatian concept of *varietas* to the rhetorical category of invention, since, according to him, *varietas* could be applied only to matters of elocution. Grifoli replied to De Nores's attacks in 1562 by re-publishing his previous work, to which he added some sections with point-by-point rebuttals (APPENDIX [49]). This choice was made to reaffirm his reading of Horace as an orthodox follower of Aristotle's theories. Grifoli also endorsed the *Ars* as a rigorous rhetorical-poetical treatise, in order to criticize the new liberties contemporary writers had been taking in terms of composition and

¹⁵³ On the Grifoli-De Nores quarrel see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 122-29; Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 61-66; and IURILLI, pp. 54-55.

mixing literary genres.¹⁵⁴ A third commentator, Francesco Luigini (1524-1569) also saw the *Ars* as a *liber* and not a simple epistle.¹⁵⁵ In line with Grifoli, in his 1554 *Commentarius* (APPENDIX [44]) Luigini did not deal with the internal coherence of Horace's work. Although he subdivided it into a long series of sections (more numerous than that of any other sixteenth-century exegete), he mainly focused on the poetical rules that one could derive from each segment of the text. For every passage he found several parallels drawn not only from the ancient rhetoricians or the *Poetics*, but also from other works by Aristotle, as well as from Plato (mainly from the *Apology* and the *Symposium*). Luigini quoted Plato almost one hundred times, always citing the Greek text and providing a Latin translation of it, whereas he referred approximately fifty times both to Cicero and to Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*. The practise of quoting passages from Plato, along with from Aristotle, would become more widespread during the following decades of the sixteenth century, as we have already noted. Although it is not so common in Pigna's 1561 commentary on the *Ars* or in that of Aldo Manuzio the Younger (1547-1597), published in 1576 and mainly devoted to illuminating unclear historical references in the text (APPENDIX [57]),¹⁵⁶ Plato was often quoted by Correa in his 1587 exegetical work.

¹⁵⁴ See, for instance, Salvatore Ritrovato, *Studi sul madrigale cinquecentesco* (Rome: Salerno, 2015); and Guido Baldassarri, 'Introduzione', in Battista Guarini, *Pastor Fido* (Venice: Marsilio, 1999), pp. 9-24.

¹⁵⁵ On Luigini's commentary see Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 130-34; Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 66-69; and IURILLI, pp. 55-56.

¹⁵⁶ Aldo Manuzio the Younger's commentary to the *Ars Poetica* was a minor exegetical work. See Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 194-95; and Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', pp. 70-71.

CONCLUSION

We have observed how widespread and pervasive the phenomenon of commentaries on Horace was during the late fifteenth and, above all, the sixteenth century. Whereas during the first half of the Quattrocento only a few scholars and men of learning (such as Niccoli, Vittorino da Feltre, Sicco, Decembrio, and Guarini) showed an interest in the Latin poet, a progressive revival of Horace took place from the 1460s onwards. Landino's commentary (1482) is an important sign of this trend. His text gave rise to a new era of attention devoted to Horace, marked by the production of a certain number of commentaries devoted either to his entire corpus, or to a good portion of it. Mancinelli in 1492 commented on the lyrical production of the Latin poet, Badius Ascensius first focused on the hexametrical works (1499) and then on the whole Horatian corpus (1503), while Britannico composed a comprehensive commentary on the *Epistles*, *Satires*, and *Art of Poetry* (1516). These major commentaries were soon printed together in single volumes, often along with the texts of the ancient scholiasts of Horace. The works by Pseudo-Acro and Porphyry were jointly published for the first time by Toscani in 1474, and from that moment editions often included multiple commentaries, which proved to be an editorial success. In 1490 Arrivabene printed Landino's work together with the two ancient texts, while Mancinelli presented his commentary as the fourth of an exegetical quartet, composed by himself and the three commentators of Arrivabene edition. Badius also printed his text with that of Mancinelli (1503). Concurrently, many other exegetical works were devoted to Horace. Several humanists analysed specific passages of his texts in their collections of annotations on Latin and Greek antiquity. These works had both an autonomous print circulation and, at the same

time, provided material for new editorial products. Following the practice of multiple commentary editions, some editors decided to draw explanations devoted to Horace from the new collections of annotations, and to gather them together in new exegetical volumes. The formula then followed was twofold: some editions consisted simply of a series of observations devoted to Horace (such as Faber's 1535 edition), while others collected together one or more major commentaries along with some scattered annotations composed by other exegetes (such as Badius's 1507 edition, or Fontaneto's 1517 edition). This second practice proved to be more effective in terms of editorial success and became very common both throughout Italy (above all among Venetian printers) and abroad. During the first four decades of the fifteenth century, editors and publishers constantly tried to find new annotations (drawn both from the most recent works and ancient classical texts) to be added to their volumes in order to provide their public with new and innovative products. These were necessary, since after Britannico's commentary no other wide-ranging exegetical work was composed until the 1550s. The most complete multiple commentary edition ever published was that of Girolamo Scoto printed in Venice in 1544, which listed seventeen commentators. Analysis of this volume proves fundamental not only for the insightful view it offers of some practical aspects of the composition of such a monumental edition, but also to enable us to understand how Scoto's choices in terms of which remarks to add and which to exclude were rationally pondered and consciously made. The editor proved not to be a mere compiler of annotations, but a refined man of knowledge, as well as a wise entrepreneur.

From the 1550s the main focus of the Italian exegetical attention shifted to the *Ars Poetica*. This text was not neglected before the mid-sixteenth century, as the

works by Parrasio (1531) and Gaurico (1531) that dealt uniquely with it testify, but after the revival of the Aristotelian *Poetics* in the late 1530s the epistle to the Pisones was put at the centre of many interpretations. In the fourth and fifth decades of the sixteenth century the commentators, although continuing to analyse the Horatian text through the lens and categories of rhetoric, generally placed the two works in parallel, on the assumption that their content was the same. Despite their often unique approaches and personal insightful interpretations, Pedemonte (1546), Robortello (1548), Maggi (1550), Grifoli (1550), De Nores (1553), and Luigini (1554) shared the practice of dividing the Horatian *Ars* into short sections and finding a counterpart or an explanatory parallel for each of them in one or more passages of the *Poetics*. Obviously, the Aristotelian treatise was also used to further the discussion about new literary genres and develop new theories on them. During the following two decades (1560-1580), however, although some critics continued to consider Aristotle, always alongside the Latin rhetoricians, as the main authority on which to base their analyses (see, e.g., Maratta or Fabrini), other scholars started to employ other classical sources, such as Plato's *Dialogues*, to illuminate the Horatian text – a practice that dates back at least to Luigini in 1554. Moreover, the *Ars* was at the centre of further deep and often critically acute investigation during the last decades of the Cinquecento, as the works by Correa (1587), Cologno (1587) and Riccoboni (1591) testify. Nevertheless, the second half of the sixteenth century saw the production of several exegetical works not only on the *Ars Poetica*, but also on the rest of Horace's production. There were 1) texts devoted to a specific work (such as Cesario's 1566 commentary on the *Odes*, and Bruto's 1566 and Partenio's 1584 commentaries on the *Carmina* and *Epodes*); 2) examinations of a single poem (such

as Martello 1579 analysis of *Carm.* IV, 7, and that of *Sat.* I, 1 by Pagnoni in 1591); and 3) commentaries that provided a new exegetical account of the whole corpus of the Latin author, such as those by Piccolomini (composed in the 1560s), Ceruti (1585-1588), and Fabrini (1566), whose work is the first commentary on the Latin poet ever written in vernacular. All of these texts demonstrate the extensive nature and the richness of Italian exegetical works on the whole Horatian corpus composed during the second half of the sixteenth century.

One further concluding remark is necessary. Throughout the Cinquecento, a general tendency can be observed towards an ever increasing and more explicit exegetical interest in the lyrical production of the Latin author, in comparison to the attention paid to the *Satires* and the *Epistles*. This will find a counterpart, as we will see in the next chapters, in other fields, such as the translation and imitation of the works of the Latin poet. In this regard, although the early sixteenth-century commentaries on Horace's lyrical production do not openly invite readers to take inspiration from Horace in their own compositions, the number and exegetical wealth of these remarks and commentaries could provide nothing else but a stimulus to study Horace's works and to interiorize his poetical teachings. In the second part of the century, the invitation to take Horace as a concrete poetical model to be followed became more direct, as the works of Toscanella (1567), Ceruti (1585-1588) and Mazzone (1592-1593) witness.

3. RENAISSANCE TRANSLATORS OF HORACE

In this chapter I will analyse several Italian translations of both the whole Horatian corpus and of various sections of it that were written during the sixteenth century. As already argued in the Introduction to this thesis, the Renaissance translations, in general, and those of classical works, in particular, constitute a very complex literary phenomenon, because they are not always easily distinguishable from other forms of literary imitation. The question then is simply one of how to categorize these kinds of works. In this chapter I will take into consideration poems explicitly regarded as translations in the Renaissance (although contemporary notions of what constitutes a translation may not agree). First, my analysis will encompass both prose and verse *volgarizzamenti* of Horace's hexametric poems. I will not only analyse the literary forms of these translations, but also their approach to the content of Horace's texts, as well as any instances of censorship. I will then focus on translations of the lyrical corpus of Horace, comparing the stylistic and rhetorical choices of the translators and the purposes of their literary practices.

3.1 TRANSLATING HORACE'S HEXAMETRICAL WORKS

From the beginning of the Cinquecento Horace's *Epistle to the Pisones* had an enormous critical and literary fortune, as discussed in section 2.4. In the first three decades of the Cinquecento the *Epistle to the Pisones* was published twenty-two times (nine times within the whole Horatian corpus and thirteen times separately),¹ and many commentaries on the text were written. This notable early reception, however, is not mirrored in the field of translation. Since learned men of the time were very well educated in Latin and employed it with ease in their literary debates, for decades there was no need to translate the *Ars Poetica* into the Italian vernacular. Moreover, since the Italian *Questione della lingua* did not find a widely accepted solution until the 1530s, during the early sixteenth century the practice of *volgarizzamenti* of classical texts was mostly discouraged.²

Lodovico Dolce (1508-1568) was the first to translate the *Art of Poetry* into a modern vernacular language.³ His Italian text was published in Venice first by Francesco Bidondi and Maffeo Pasini in 1535, and then, one year later, by Niccolò Zoppino.⁴ Dolce read Horace's *Ars* as a manual of rhetoric, providing precise stylistic rules for literary compositions. Dolce's aim in translating this text was to offer guidance in composing poems to those who could not read Latin. Moreover, Dolce wanted to inculcate awareness of concepts such as measure and a sense of the ridiculous and of excess in those improvisers who crowded the literary scene of the

¹ See IURILLI, p. 45.

² See Dionisotti, *Tradizione classica e volgarizzamenti*, pp. 103-44.

³ On the general activity of Dolce as translator see Borsetto, 'Scrittura, riscrittura, tipografia', pp. 257-76; Di Filippo Bareggi, *Il mestiere di scrivere*, pp. 55-60; and Helena Sanson, 'Introduction', pp. 4-22. On Dolce's biography see above, section 1.3.

⁴ The two volumes are: *La poetica d'Horatio tradotta per Messer Lodovico Dolce* (Venice: Francesco Bidondi and Maffeo Pasini, 1535); and *La poetica d'Horatio tradotta per Messer Lodovico Dolce* (Venice: Niccolò Zoppino, 1536).

first decades of the sixteenth century – writers who, having only superficially studied Petrarch's texts, composed verses without having been educated in poetry and rhetoric.⁵ The dedicatory letter to Pietro Aretino, a key interlocutor for those aspiring to make careers as professional writers with the presses in Venice at this time, bears witness to Dolce's intention of presenting Horace's text as a series of poetical norms expressed in the figurative language of poetry, now made more widely available through the Italian translation.⁶

In order to make the Horatian precepts accessible to the non-Latin-speaking public, Dolce partially updated the language of the *Epistle to the Pisones* and modernized some expressions of the text.⁷ The translator, for example, deleted all the details that referred to the Augustan era. Thus, he excised any reference to the addressees of the *Epistle*, the Pisones, or to the names of characters of Latin plays, as Chremes (*Ars P.* 94); he also replaced erudite terms with their more common equivalents (e.g., he substituted for such terms as *soccus* and 'buskin' [*cothurnos*] simply 'comedy' and 'tragedy'), and suppressed overly technical lines (such as those devoted to iambic verse [*Ars P.* 249]).⁸ At the same time, Dolce engaged in some explanatory paraphrases. He realized that some points, which were only briefly sketched out by Horace, needed clarification to be understood by a modern public that had a different background from that of his Roman readers. This approach implied the introduction of some anachronisms, as well as various amplifications and indeed even some misunderstandings. Luciana Borsetto, who has extensively studied

⁵ See Borsetto, '*La Poetica d'Horatio tradotta*', pp. 172-73.

⁶ See IURILLI, p. 61.

⁷ See Borsetto, '*La Poetica d'Horatio tradotta*', pp. 176-77.

⁸ For a more comprehensive analysis of this tendency see Grimaldi, '*L'arte poetica nei commenti*', pp. 84-85.

Dolce's translations, suggests that these traits of the polygraph's Italian version of the *Art of Poetry* were one of the causes (if not the main one) of the scant reception that the text had in the Peninsula after its second reprint in 1536.⁹

In terms of content, however, the first Italian translation of the epistle is quite close to the Horatian original, even if the translation is obviously not completely neutral. For example, in many passages whose meaning was disputed Dolce often opted to openly exhibit his opinion on the matter through a translation that clearly showed which interpretation he held. He took a position while dealing with the word 'imus' (*Ars P.* 32, 'aemilium circa ludum faber imus et unguis'), considered by someone as the proper name of the blacksmith mentioned by Horace, whereas some other thought it was simply an adjective agreeing with the preceding noun 'faber'. Dolce opted for the first hypothesis and wrote 'di bronzo solea far certe figure / Imo'.¹⁰ In the disputed line dealing with the function of the chorus in ancient tragedy (*Ars P.* 193, 'Actoris partis chorus officium virile'), he sided with those who claimed that the chorus echoed the voice of the main character (*actor*) and not that of the playwright (*auctor*). In fact he translated line 193 as 'il coro ha la parte a difender colui ch'è principal persona'.¹¹

In terms of metrics, Dolce had a number of options for recreating Horace's Latin hexameters in Italian. He could have either employed a canonical vernacular metre, such as the *ottava* or the *terza rima*. He had previously employed the latter when translating the first satire to Maecenas, published at the end of the 1535 edition

⁹ See Borsetto, '*La Poetica d'Horatio tradotta*', p. 177; and Grimaldi, '*L'arte poetica nei commenti*', p. 85.

¹⁰ See Dolce, *La Poetica d'Horatio tradotta* (1536), fol. A6^r.

¹¹ See Dolce, *La Poetica d'Horatio tradotta* (1536), fol. B3^r.

of his *Poetica d'Horatio tradotta*), or he could have created new Italian lines echoing the classical hexametric system following the practice of so-called 'barbaric metrics', which dates back to the 1441 *Certame coronario* and had a great success during the second half of the sixteenth century (see section 4.2).¹² Dolce in fact rejected both of these options. He above all opposed the latter since he thought, as he clearly stated in one of his later works, the *Osservazioni nella volgar lingua*, that many learned men 'perdettero gli inchiostri in apportare in questa lingua (Italiana) gli Hessametri, i Pentametri [...] e non s'avvidero che nella nostra non tengono punto di grazia, né di harmonia'.¹³ Faithful to this idea, Dolce decided to adopt a third possibility offered by the Italian metrical system. In order to recreate the unrhymed series of Latin hexameters, he chose to employ blank verse. This poetic form had been canonized in 1534 by Nicolò Liburnio, when he published his blank-verse translation of the fourth book of the *Aeneid* in Venice, even though it had already been used ten years before by Giovanni Rucellai in his Virgilian poem *Le api* (printed only in 1541).

In 1559, Dolce re-printed his *Poetica d'Horatio tradotta*, but this time the text appeared as the last section of a larger work: his Italian translation of all the hexametric corpus of the Latin poet. The volume, containing Dolce's translations of all the Horatian *Satires* and *Epistles*, was published by Gabriele Giolito as part of a vast series of translated editions of the classics that Giolito printed during the central decades of the sixteenth century.¹⁴ The aim of Giolito's enterprise was to publish the

¹² See Massimiliano Mancini, 'L'imitazione metrica di Orazio nella poesia Italiana', in *OLI*, pp. 489-532.

¹³ Lodovico Dolce, *Osservazioni nella volgar lingua* (Venice: Giolito, 1550), fol. 87^r.

¹⁴ See *I dilettevoli sermoni* (Venice: Giolito, 1559). On Giolito's series of editions of translated classical texts see Luciana Borsetto, 'Scrittura, riscrittura, tipografia', pp. 259-64. Borsetto calculated that during the twenty-four years in which Dolce worked for the Giolito print house (from 1542 to 1568) thirty new translations of classical texts were published. On Giolito's press see, at least, Angela Nuovo and Christian Coppins, *I Giolito e la stampa nell'Italia del XVI secolo* (Geneva: Droz, 2005).

texts in a standardized and normalized Italian vernacular, understandable to every reader in the Peninsula. For this reason Dolce aimed at presenting to his public a new, refined poetical product instead of a simple set of guidelines for aspiring poets, who could now find more precise rhetorical and poetical rules in the treatises devoted to the Horatian text composed in the previous years. He thus reshaped the text of the *Art of Poetry*, lending it greater formal elegance, and endowing it with the fluency and homogeneity that characterized his new translations of Horace's *Satires* and *Epistles*. However, instead of re-writing his previous text, he only recast the first eight lines, and simply normalized some syntactical and grammatical forms throughout the rest of the poem. In total, he added no more than another dozen new verses to the poem.¹⁵

Before focusing more lengthily on Dolce's 1559 edition of Horatian hexametrical works, it is worth mentioning the other Italian translations of the *Art of Poetry* that were written during the sixteenth century. Apart from Pandolfo Spannocchi's work, once wrongly thought to have been published in Siena in 1546, but actually written only around 1639,¹⁶ it seems that only three other translations of the Horatian epistle were produced during the Cinquecento. The first was written in prose by Fabrini da Figline (1516-1580), who composed a word-for-word paraphrase, merging his Italian version with its commentary (1566).¹⁷ The other two were both composed by Sertorio Quattromani (1541-1607), who translated the

¹⁵ See Borsetto, '*La Poetica d'Horatio tradotta*', pp. 180-82 for a specific analysis of the two versions of Dolce's text.

¹⁶ See Grimaldi, '*L'arte poetica nei commenti*', pp. 87-88.

¹⁷ See APPENDIX [53]. On this work see Borsetto, '*La Poetica d'Horatio tradotta*', pp. 186-87; Grimaldi, '*L'arte poetica nei commenti*', pp. 86-87; Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 179-83; and IURILLI, pp. 62-63. On Fabrini's biography see above, section 1.3; on his commentary see above, section 2.3.

Horatian *Ars* both in blank-verse, in a work entitled *Traduzione in verso toscano*, and in a prose work, *Parafrasi toscana*.¹⁸ Quattromani, who primarily derived his Horatian interests from his attendance of Parrasio's Academy in Cosenza,¹⁹ devoted himself to these literary pursuits during the last years of the sixteenth century, but his works were published only in 1714.²⁰ Whereas his *Traduzione* is particularly close to the Horatian original, despite some minor rhetorical embellishments, Quattromani's prose translation distances itself much more from the Latin epistle, because the author, like Fabrini, often interrupts his text with long explanatory sentences. As Luciana Borsetto points out, the main aim of Quattromani's *Parafrasi* seems more to produce an explicatory text on the *Art of Poetry* rather than simply to present Horace's text in prose.²¹ However, since Quattromani's texts were disseminated only after 1714, they did not have any influence on the Cinquecento debate on poetics.

As with Quattromani's works, other sixteenth-century translations of the Horatian *Ars Poetica* were made but remained in manuscript form. The first one worth mentioning is the 'Traduzione della Poetica d'Orazio, quasi in forma di parafrasi', written by Agnolo Firenzuola (1493-1543), probably during the first half of 1541. In the prefatory letter accompanying his *Dialogo delle bellezze delle donne*, addressed to the noble ladies of Prato, Firenzuola states that he had wanted to publish

¹⁸ On Sertorio Quattromani see Renato Meliaddò, *Sertorio Quattromani* (Reggio Calabria: La Rocca, 1969); Eugenio Filice, *Sertorio Quattromani, accademico Cosentino* (Cosenza: Tipografia MIT, 1974); and Vincenzo Paladino, *Sertorio Quattromani: un umanista telesiano* (Messian: EDAS, 1976).

¹⁹ See above, section 2.4 and below, section 5.5.

²⁰ *Di Sertorio Quattromani gentiluomo et accademico cosentino Lettere diverse. Il quarto libro di Vergilio in verso toscano. Trattato della metafora. Parafrasi toscana della Poetica di Orazio. Traduzione della medesima Poetica in verso toscano. Alcune annotazioni sopra di essa. Alcune poesie toscane, e latine* (Naples: Felice Mosca, 1714). On this work see IURILLI, p. 151; and Borsetto, 'La Poetica d'Horatio tradotta', pp. 188-93.

²¹ Borsetto, 'La Poetica d'Horatio tradotta', p. 192.

his translation during the summer of 1541, but this project never took place.²² Francesco Saverio Quadrio,²³ Giusto Fontanini,²⁴ and Giosuè Carducci,²⁵ who mention this text in their critical works, were all unsuccessful in locating Firenzuola's manuscript, which may be a ghost or perhaps has not survived. Another translation of the *Art of Poetry*, which had a similar fate to Firenzuola's, is the work by Filippo Valentini of Modena (c. 1510-1560). His Italian version in *terza rima* of the *Epistle to the Pisones* is mentioned only by Lodovico Muratori in his biography of Lodovico Castelvetro (1727), and is now lost.²⁶ Although Firenzuola and Valentini's texts are yet to be found, the notices that we have about their composition suggests that, during the mid-sixteenth century, interest in the translation of the *Art of Poetry* may have been more widespread than scholars have thought.²⁷ This cultural phenomenon may have been partially inspired by the contemporary increase in Horatian Latin commentaries, the literary debates taking place in many Italian

²² Agnolo Firenzuola, 'Dialogo delle bellezze delle donne intitolato Celso', in *Prose di Messer Agnolo Firenzuola Fiorentino* (Florence: Torrentino, 1548), p. 721, 'per non parere un uomo così a casaccio, subito che mando fuori una traduzione della *Poetica* d'Orazio, quasi in forma di parafrasi, che sarà questa prossima state, io risponderò quattro parole a correzione di costoro' (dated from Prato, 18 January 1541). See also Agnolo Firenzuola, *On the Beauty of Women*, trans. Konrad Eisenbichler and Jacqueline Murray (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).

²³ Francesco Saverio Quadrio, *Della storia e della ragione d'ogni poesia*, 5 vols (Milan: Agnelli, 1749), IV, 15.

²⁴ See Giusto Fontanini, *Biblioteca dell'eloquenza italiana* (Parma: Gozzi, 1803), p. 267 n 'd'.

²⁵ See *Catalogo dei manoscritti di Giosuè Carducci*, ed by Albano Sorbelli (Bologna: Comune di Bologna, 1921), cartone 53 'Orazio', fascicolo 9, where Carducci stated in one of his notes that Firenzuola's translation 'non fu mai stampata'.

²⁶ See Lodovico Muratori, 'Vita di Lodovico Castelvetro', in Lodovico Castelvetro, *Opere varie critiche* (Bern: Foppens, 1727), pp. 1-78 (p. 23), 'Racconta poi il Castelvetro, come, e perché egli (Valentini) non producesse que' frutti, che il suo mirabil'ingegno avrebbe potuto, restando di lui solamente alcuni versi Latini, e Italiani, e la *Poetica* d'Orazio tradotta in Terze Rime'. On Filippo Valentini see Attilio Roncaccia, 'Ludovico Castelvetro e Filippo Valentini: due sonetti di corrispondenza', *Italique*, 5 (2002), 77-92; Id., 'Un frammento critico sulle *Rime* del Bembo attribuibile a Ludovico Castelvetro', *Aevum*, 73 (1999), 707-33 (p. 707 n. 3); and Lucia Felici, 'Introduzione', in Filippo Valentini, *Il principe fanciullo. Trattato inedito dedicato a Renata ed Ercole II D'Este*, ed. by Lucia Felici (Florence: Olschki, 2000), pp. 1-154.

²⁷ See Grimaldi, 'L'arte poetica nei commenti', p. 76, where it is stated that 'all'esigenza primaria di studiare ed approfondire l'*Arte poetica* di Orazio per trarne norme estetiche, non corrispose, nel Cinquecento, la medesima necessità di tradurre questa opera in lingua volgare'.

universities and academies, and various developments in literature.²⁸ Nevertheless, Firenzuola and Valentini's texts, like those by Quattromani, had very little (if any) influence on sixteenth-century debate on poetics, since they remained mostly unknown.

Dolce's translation of the *Ars Poetica* had a different fate. In the 1559 edition's *epistula nuncupatoria*, addressed to Bernardino Ferrario, nobleman from Pavia and friend of Giolito, Dolce stated that in his translations he wanted to 'rappresentar più i sensi che le parole' of Horace,²⁹ according to the Ciceronian principle of the *orator*, which endorsed translating the meaning of the original text (according to the *ad sensum* formula), rather than offering a word-for-word translation. This inevitably implied that Dolce had to use many poetical periphrases in order to render the content of the original poem in his vernacular texts.³⁰ In his dedicatory letter to Ferrario, Dolce not only focuses on his methodology of translation but also explains why he decided to devote his literary pursuits specifically to the *Satires* and the *Epistles*. Dolce affirmed that he chose to translate the Latin poet's hexametric compositions because he realized that, although many contemporaries were paying attention to Horace's lyrical production, his satirical poems and epistles might be of greater usefulness to readers, since they were rich in 'morali e filosofici precetti'.³¹ In order to stress this didactic and moral reading of the Horatian texts, Dolce not only places before each poem a brief rubric in which he highlights its moral teachings, but also amends all the ambiguous passages of the *Satires* that might call Horace's moral

²⁸ See above, section 2.4.

²⁹ Dolce, *I dilettevoli sermoni*, p. 4.

³⁰ See Borsetto, '*La Poetica d'Horatio tradotta*', p. 183; and Greco, 'Dolce, Ludovico', 199.

³¹ Dolce, *I dilettevoli sermoni*, p. 4

authority into question.³² Dolce in fact systematically replaced any discussion of prurient subject-matter with highly prudish circumlocutions. He also censored the slightest allusion to any immoral situations. This can be seen as one of the signs of the new cultural climate of increasing control over texts in the early post-Tridentine era. His censorship operated in three ways: 1) through the prudish paraphrase of explicit passages of the original text (for example in his translations of *Sat.* I, 2; I, 3; I, 5; I, 8; II, 7); 2) by announcing through notes, used in other cases simply to clarify difficult words or allusions, that he will not translate one or more lines due to their immoral content (e.g., in his translations of *Sat.* I, 5, and I, 9); and 3) by omitting lines without warning the reader in any marginal notes (as in his translations of *Sat.* I, 2; II, 3; and II, 7).

A concrete example, drawn from *Sat.* I, 5, will demonstrate how Dolce worked. In the fifth poem of his *Sermones*' first book Horace describes a voyage in which he accompanied Maecenas and others from Rome to Brindisi. Among the incidents recorded in the poem, Horace describes his encounter with a young girl, probably a prostitute, who assured him that she would come to his room in the tavern during the night to keep him company. In the following verses, however, the poet states that he waited for her in vain all the night long. As a consequence, he dreamt about her, and adds: 'somnus tamen aufert / intentum veneri; tum inmundo somnia visu / nocturnam vestem maculant ventremque supinum'.³³ Dolce must have perceived some of these

³² See Greco, 'Dolce, Ludovico', 199.

³³ Hor. *Sat.* I, 5, 83-85, (like an utter fool I lay wakeful till midnight awaiting this cheating girl, till sleep carried me off thinking of sex. Then a dream full of sordid visions wet my nightshirt and belly).

verses as too explicit, and in his translation he veils the erotic content of lines 83-85 and 100-104, making them more allusive.³⁴

The second passage censored by Dolce deals with the Epicurean comment that concludes the same satire. Just before reaching Brindisi, Horace writes that he and his companions passed by the little town of Gnatia, whose citizens – he states – believed that in one of their temples the incense burnt miraculously without fire. The poet laughed at this form of superstition and, giving voice to his disbelief, says: ‘credat Iudaeus Apella, / non ego; namque deos didici securum agere aevom, / nec, siquid miri faciat natura, deos id / tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto’.³⁵ These evidently Epicurean verses, through which the Latin poet gave expression to his insolent and disrespectful attitude towards the gods, was probably considered highly inappropriate by Dolce, who chose not to translate them and noted in the margin of his edition that ‘I tre versi e mezzo che a questi seguono, per accorstarsi Horatio burlando alla perversa openione de gli Epicuri non habbiamo tradotti’.³⁶ Dolce’s morally cautious translation seems to anticipate the 1569 Jesuit edition of *Horatius ab omni obscoenitate purgatus*, which followed the same process of ‘emendation’ of those statements that were linked to the semantic fields of religion and sexuality.

A different approach to the same passages is displayed in the Italian prose version of the Horatian *Satires* composed by Giovanni Fabrini (1566), exactly seven years after that of Dolce. It is important to highlight that Fabrini wrote the first

³⁴ Dolce, *I dilettevoli sermoni*, p. 55, ‘Ma finalmente, ancor ch’io fossi intento / al piacer, ch’attendea, mi vinse il sonno: / il qual mi fe gustar con falso sogno / quel, che non poté far il vegghiar vero’.

³⁵ Hor. *Sat.* I, 5, 100-104, (let Apella the Jew credit that, I do not. I have heard the gods live a carefree life, and if nature works miracles then it is not the gods gloomily sending them down from their home in the sky).

³⁶ Dolce, *I dilettevoli sermoni*, p. 56.

Italian translation of the whole Horatian corpus, the only such translation produced during the sixteenth century. Unlike Dolce, he followed the Ciceronian precept of the *interpretes*, meaning that he opted for a word-for-word translation. Fabrini considered this method more suitable for his purpose. He not only wished to present Horace's works to the Italian-only speaking public, but above all to allow those students who were studying Latin, but were still unable entirely to read the classical texts in their original version, to approach the works of the Roman poet.³⁷ For this reason, Fabrini produced a prose text modelled word for word on that of Horace. Moreover, he decided not only to place the Latin text in the central part of each page of his volume, printing his translation and commentary around the Latin verses, but also chose to put the Latin words between brackets close to their Italian equivalents in the margins of each page. Thanks to this device, the Latin poems appeared much more intelligible to students, who could increase their competence in the Latin language and, at the same time, be instructed on Horace's works through the Italian annotations that Fabrini placed after every translated section of text. As I have pointed out in the previous chapter, Fabrini's technique made of his volume a highly appreciated school text, which perfectly complied with one part of the Renaissance editorial market's wishes. Because of his method, the Latin poems' scabrous expressions could not be censored, otherwise some words of the original text would not have had a clear correspondent in the Italian version. However, in the commentaries that followed those sections of the texts containing indecent passages Fabrini regularly tried to attenuate any heterodox or explicit expressions. Through

³⁷ See IURILLI, p. 62, who notes that Fabrini 'tenta di offrire [...] un prodotto editorialmente spendibile, in ragione della sua 'democraticità', sia sul mercato scolastico, sia su quello, non meno appetito, dei nuovi *parvenus* borghesi, a due dei quali, Giovan Francesco Ridolfi e Jacopo Borgiami, "mercantanti cittadini e fiorentini", è non a caso indirizzata la *nuncupatoria*'. Fabrini applied the same method also to his translation of Virgil's *Opera omnia* and Cicero's *Letters*.

either brief annotations, or straightforward recapitulatory sentences, Fabrini aimed to reduce any problematic subject that might have arisen from the translation's faithfulness to the original text.³⁸ For example, Fabrini faces an excess of indecorous explicitness when dealing with Horace's disbelief and Epicurean opinions at the end of *Sat. I, 5* (ll. 100-104). In this case, after having described the Epicurean theory of gods' indifference for human world, presented by the Horatian text, for mere exegetical purposes, Fabrini defines it 'questa pazza opinion', explicitly condemning it through his conclusive statement.³⁹

Fabrini's work had a great editorial success,⁴⁰ which not only bears witness to the popularity of his new formula of combining translation with commentary, but also to an ongoing and ever-increasing interest in Horace's texts at all levels. From the late 1550s, this interest also took the form of a flourishing number of Italian translations of the Latin author's poems. Along with that of Fabrini, other

³⁸ For instance, while translating *Sat. I, 5*, 83-85, Fabrini writes: '[ego stultissimus] io pazzissimo [ad mediam noctem usque] infino a mezza notte [expecto puellam] aspetto una fanciulla [mendacem] che mi promise di venire, e non venne [tamen] nondimeno [somnus aufert] il sonno leva via, distoglie [intentum] me che ero intento [Veneri] a Venere. *Cioè venne il sonno e addormentandomi mi tolse il pensiero che io havevo della fanciulla*, [tum] allora, quando io fui addormentato [somnia] un sogno [immundo visu] con una sporca vision [maculat] mi macchia [nocturnam vestem] la camicia da notte [ventremque supinum] e il ventre, che era volto in su, *perché Oratio essendosi addormentato con quella fantasia, fece un sogno, parendogli d'essere con la fanciulla aspettata, e si corrupe, e destantosi, si trovò tutto imbrattato*' (*L'opere d'Oratio*, pp. 407-08). In order to distinguish Fabrini's annotations from his translations, the former are in italic, the second in Roman, while I placed the Horatian text, which Fabrini reports amid his translation, between squared brackets.

³⁹ In Fabrini's rendering of *Sat. I, 5*, 100-104 one reads: '*Dice Oratio da sé* [credat] creda tali cose [Iudaeus] il Giudeo [appella] circunciso [...] [non ego] non lo crederò già io [nanque] perché [didici] io ho imparato, credo, so [Deos] che gl'Iddii [agere aevum] vivono [securum] senza pensieri: non si curano delle cose mortali, [nec] né [Deos] gl'Iddii [tristes] affannati per le cose del mondo [demittere id] mandano giù questo [...] [ex alto tecto] dall'alta casa [celi] del cielo, [si natura] se la natura [faciat] fa [quid miri] qualche miracolo. *La sentenza è che egli non crede che gl'Iddii si curino delle cose del mondo e però non crede anche che accendino gl'incendi detti, e che de miracoli, che alcuna volta accascano, fatti dalla natura, gl'Iddii non se ne impacciano: questa è l'opinione che havevano gli Epicurei e la ragione di questa loro opinione è questa: che non si può essere beato, e felice, se altri non è senza pensieri: e che essendo gl'Iddii beati e felici bisogna che sieno senza pensieri perché i pensieri perturbano l'animo e chi è beato non ha perturbatione alcuna, però gl'Idii non possono haver pensiero delle cose del mondo. Molte altre ragioni allegavano di questa lor pazza opinion, che non è a proposito allegarle in questo luogo*' (*L'opere d'Oratio*, p. 409).

⁴⁰ See Carmela Santucci, 'Traduzioni italiane tra Cinquecento e Settecento', in *PCL*, pp. 49-79 (p. 55).

translations were made and published. The new debates on poetics and rhetoric, further stimulated by the increasing importance that the Aristotelian *Poetics* had gained in contemporary literary discussions, contributed to maintaining the relevance of the texts of the Latin poet. However, this alone could not justify the increasing number of translations of Horace's works that took place from the middle-decades of the Cinquecento. After all, the academic and university world had always dealt with and could still continue to do so with Horace's texts in their original version. There must therefore have been a different reason for the increased vogue of translations. One explanation lies in the perception that Horace's text had now been restored to its original form, a fact that legitimized translation into other languages. It cannot be a coincidence that the development of vernacular translations of the Horatian poems took place after a burst of philological attention to Horace's corpus, which aimed at producing a more accurate version of the poet's works. Following Manuzio's printing of the first textually reliable edition of Horace's works in 1501, during the following decades no new philological investigation was conducted on his texts, even though many exegetical problems were still debated (and solved). As we have seen in the previous chapter, only at the beginning of the 1550s did the French humanist Marc-Antoine Muret revise the previous version of the Latin poet's corpus and establish a new text, which he printed in Venice in 1557.⁴¹ This edition opened a new season of philological studies devoted to the Horatian works, which led first to the even more accurate edition by Denys Lambin (1561), and, then, to the pioneering edition (1578) of Jacob Cruquius, who employed the *lectiones* of the old manuscripts

⁴¹ See APPENDIX [46].

he found in Belgium to re-construct the classical text.⁴² As Iurilli has highlighted⁴³, the existence of a new, more trustworthy version of the Horatian texts was the primary factor that allowed the translation phenomenon to flourish. To show the resonance and the importance that this had in a work such as Fabrini's, it would be sufficient to recall that Fabrini follows the text established by Muret, and often discusses Lambin's *lectiones* in his marginal comments.

However, the development of Italian translations obviously did not only take place thanks to the new *ne varietur* editions, but also to other very important factors. First, in the central decades of the Cinquecento the Italian vernacular had succeeded in gaining a status comparable to that of the ancient languages, making it not only possible but also much more widely acceptable to render a classical text in the vernacular.⁴⁴ Secondly, the contemporary literary scene, uncontestedly dominated by Petrarchism, allowed for and encouraged the possibility of engaging with classical literature, as will be explained more thoroughly in the next chapter. Finally the progressive literary tightening of the forms and modes of Italian poetry invited authors to experiment with new trends and look to the works of classical antiquity for new models to follow.

⁴² A higher degree of philological accuracy and the discovery of new manuscripts led to the even more precise editions of Denys Lambin (Amsterdam, 1561 – see APPENDIX [48]) and Jacobus Cruquius (Antwerp, 1578 – see APPENDIX [58]) in the following decades. See CURCIO, pp. 132-35.

⁴³ See IURILLI, p. 62.

⁴⁴ See *Il volgare come lingua di cultura dal Trecento al Cinquecento. Atti del convegno Internazionale (Mantova, 18-20 ottobre 2001)*, ed. by Arturo Calzona, Francesco Paolo Fiore, Alberto Tenenti, and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Olschki, 2003).

3.2 TRANSLATING HORACE'S LYRICAL PRODUCTION

The flourishing of translations of Horatian texts that took place throughout the second half of the Cinquecento mostly concerned the Latin poet's lyrical production. After Dolce's 1559 translation of the *Satires* and *Epistles* and Fabrini's 1566 Italian version of the whole corpus, no sixteenth-century author focussed on translating Horace's hexametrical production except Quattromani who, as mentioned above, wrote two translations of the *Art of Poetry* (one in prose and one in verse), which remained unpublished until the eighteenth century. This pre-eminence of the lyrical works must be partially linked to the personal inclinations of the translators, but this phenomenon also has some more general roots. Undoubtedly, the scant interest of the Italian mid- and late-Cinquecento literary scene in satirical compositions contributed to the neglect of Horace's hexametrical works; his lyrical production, instead, must have been perceived by Italian authors as much closer to them, belonging as it did to the same literary genre as the Petrarchist poetry they primarily practised. Moreover, since, as the next chapter will show, Petrarchism allowed the possibility of engaging with Latin literature in general, and with Horace in particular, the choice of imitating the Latin poets' features and modes, already widespread in many collections of rhymes composed all over the Peninsula, could easily be transformed into the practice of more confidently turning them into Italian. Hence, translation could be considered a form of imitation, since it was not used as an exercise in grammatical study, but was associated with rhetoric and the creation of a new literary product.⁴⁵ Furthermore, some formal characteristics of the Latin odes, such as their brevity and their high degree of independence in terms of content from the rest of the collection

⁴⁵ See section 3.1 above.

to which they belonged, probably encouraged those translators who opted to prove their ability by engaging only with a series of short texts, to deal with Horace's lyrical corpus.

This final aspect is particularly evident in the work by Jacomo Vicomanno da Camerino,⁴⁶ a Petrarchist poet who translated twelve Horatian odes – the first eleven poems of the first book of the *Carmina* and the fourteenth poem of the second book. Vicomanno printed his anthology in Perugia in 1562, four years before Fabrini's Italian prose version of the whole Horatian corpus. As he states in the preface to his volume, his main aim is not to make some Horatian compositions accessible to a larger public, but rather to give voice to his own metric virtuosity, thereby challenging that of Horace. Evidence of this intention is provided by the choice of the texts he translates. Since classical antiquity, the first eleven poems of the first book of the Horatian *Odes* were known as those in which the Latin author displayed his metrical capability, composing each poem in a different lyric metrical system. Vicomanno's choice to translate precisely these eleven odes probably implies that he wanted to compete with Horace in metrical virtuosity. Moreover, his decision to employ a different Italian metrical scheme to translate each *carmen* explicitly bears witness to his intention to put on show his rhetorical expertise. Five out of his twelve texts (translations of the first four odes and *Carm.* I, 9) are *canzoni*, each of them constructed in accordance with a different metrical structure. The two poems translating *Carm.* I, 6 and I, 11 are both sonnets, but while the second one is composed of fourteen lines, as is traditional, the first is made up of two consecutive sonnets. The composition translating *Carm.* I, 7 is in octave; that devoted to *Carm.* I,

⁴⁶ See IURILLI, pp. 64 and 67.

10 is in *terza rima*; that based on *Carm.* I, 8 is a ballad; and the poem that renders *Carm.* I, 5 presents a miscellaneous scheme, made of rhymed hendecasyllables. Finally, the lyric translating *Carm.* II, 14 (probably chosen for reasons of literary taste) is the only one composed in blank verse.

Vicomanno's compositions are generally much longer than the Latin originals, since he enriches his poems with poetical flourishes, rhetorical circumlocutions, and a flurry of metaphorical embellishments. This is most evident in his *canzoni*, whose number of verses almost triples compared with their sources. However, Vicomanno's complex process of 'transmetrizzazione'⁴⁷ does not modify the content of Horace's compositions, but exclusively their rhetorical modes. The only explicit content-based adjustment that Vicomanno displays in his works is a constant, albeit not systematic, use of Christian circumlocutions when he translates those expressions dealing with classical divinities. Thus, when Horace mentions Zeus or Fate, the Italian poet refers to God or Providence; for instance, in *Carm.* I, 3, 21-23 Horace states that a wise divinity separated lands from water in vain;⁴⁸ Vicomanno attributes the deed to God, described as 'il gran Monarca eterno'.⁴⁹ Similarly, whereas Horace suggests that Thaliarcus commits everything to the gods,⁵⁰ and urges Leuconoe not to struggle to know her future,⁵¹ Vicomanno transforms the gods in 'il sommo Dio' in both cases, writing 'lascia del resto al sommo Dio la cura' and 'Indarno, e con peccato vai

⁴⁷ With 'transmetrizzazione' I refer to the practice of translating a text from Latin into Italian changing its metrical scheme. See Luciana Borsetto, '*La Poetica d'Horatio tradotta*', p. 248.

⁴⁸ Hor. *Carm.* I, 3, 21-23, 'nequicquam deus abscidit / prudens Oceano dissociabili / terras'.

⁴⁹ 'Come saggio, e prudente / il gran Monarca eterno / scompagnò dalla terra il mar nimico', *Traduttione di alquante ode di Horatio Flacco. Opera di Messer Iacomo Vicomanno Da Camerino* (Perugia: Andrea Bresciano, 1562), fol. A8^v.

⁵⁰ Hor. *Carm.* I, 9, 9, 'permitte divis cetera'.

⁵¹ Hor. *Carm.* I, 11, 1-2, 'ne quaesieris [...] quem tibi / finem di dederint' (do not ask what fate the gods have set for you).

cercando [...] qual'è te donò Dio fine'.⁵² One possible explanation is that Vicomanno was a devout man who, in the climate of Counter-Reformation Italy, felt the necessity to partially amend any improper reference to paganism; but I believe that other circumstances must have contributed to Vicomanno's choice. One must remember that the author lived and published in the Papal State and, before being printed, his anthology needed to receive the imprimatur from a government censor of the same country. This certainly contributed to requiring that Vicomanno deal carefully with any allusion to pagan religion.

Another Italian translator of the Horatian odes displayed in his works a metrical virtuosity not dissimilar from that used by Vicomanno. This was Giovanni Giorgini da Jesi (c. 1530-1606), a poet, man of letters, and teacher of Logic in his hometown of Jesi (near Ancona).⁵³ His literary fame was linked both to his epic poem *Il mondo nuovo*, which dealt with the European explorations of the New World (published in 1596),⁵⁴ and, above all, to the volume containing his Horatian translations. This latter work, entitled *Cinque Libri dell'Odi di Oratio Flacco*, was printed in Jesi in 1595,⁵⁵ but had occupied Giorgini for more than two decades. The 'five books of the odes', mentioned by the Italian author are the four books of the *Carmina* (including the *Carmen saeculare*) and the *Epodes*. Actually, Giorgini's volume aimed to translate all of Horace's lyrical production. This work was the second, after that of Fabrini, to render into Italian the entire Horatian lyrical corpus,

⁵² *Traduttione di alquante ode*, fols B5^r and B6^v.

⁵³ See IURILLI, pp. 64-66; Albert N. Mancini, 'Ideologia e struttura nel *Mondo nuovo* di Giovanni Giorgini', *Annali d'Italianistica*, 10 (1992), 150-79; Sandro Baldoncini, 'L'"Epopoea Americana" del sec XVI: Il *Mondo Nuovo* di Giovanni Giorgini', *Biblioteca Aperta*, 4 (1993), 11-14; and Angela Asor Rosa, 'Giorgini, Giovanni', in *DBI*, LV (2001), 338.

⁵⁴ Giovanni Giorgini, *Il mondo nuovo* (Jesi: Farri, 1596).

⁵⁵ *I Cinque Libri delle Odi di Oratio Flacco. Detti in Canzoni, Sestine, Ballate, e Madrigali Dal Signor Giovanni Giorgini da Jesi* (Jesi: Pietro Farri, 1595).

but the first to translate it in verse. Giorgini did not, in fact, translate all one hundred and twenty-one texts that form Horace's lyrical work. He omitted three epodes (*Epod.* 8, 11, and 12),⁵⁶ which appeared to him too indecorous in terms of content, as he explicitly states in the short rubric placed in the pages of his edition where the translations of those three epodes should be printed.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Giorgini's work embraces one hundred and fifteen compositions (and not one hundred and eighteen as one would expect), since in three different cases (*Carm.* I, 16 and I, 17, *Carm.* IV, 8 and IV, 9, and *Carm.* IV, 14 and IV, 15) he translates two contiguous Horatian texts as one single poem.⁵⁸

In the dedicatory letter, addressed to Cardinal Sforza, Giorgini writes that in Horace's lyrical works one can find good examples of both moral philosophy and learned poetry, as well as noteworthy courtly advice. Moreover, he states that those who read the Latin poet's odes can become virtuous philosophers, better poets, and wise courtiers.⁵⁹ However, Giorgini does not see Horace's texts simply as a source of ethical and moral principles, but also considers them a sort of lyrical laboratory from which he could derive poetical features and modes, stylistic forms and rhetorical images. Many Italian lyric poets, of course, drew on classical authorities for new

⁵⁶ The epodes Giorgini decided not to translate are three, and not two as is indicated in IURILLI, p. 64.

⁵⁷ Giorgini writes at the end of his translation of the seventh epode: 'L'ottava ode si tralascia perché è dishonesta' (*I Cinque Libri delle Odi*, p. 99). After the tenth epode, he notes: 'L'undicesima e duodecima (ode) si lasciano per esser poco honeste' (p. 101).

⁵⁸ In the first two cases Giorgini announces his choice of rendering two Horatian odes with one text through short rubrics, printed before the poem. Indeed, in *I Cinque Libri delle Odi*, p. 18 one can read 'Canzone nona a Tindaride. Quale contiene due Odi', and at p. 90 'Canzone decima. In lode d'Augusto qual contiene due Odi'. On the contrary, in the third case, Giorgini does not indicate what he was doing.

⁵⁹ 'Si ritrovano in lui (in Orazio) i più saldi precetti, che la filosofia morale habbia prodotti, i più esquisiti ricordi, ch'una vaga poesia habbia formati, et i più sicuri avisi, che l'arte di ben servire a Principi habbia proposti, di modo, che dalla sua lettione può agevolmente ciascuno divenir un ben saldo, e costante morale, un esquisito, e compito poeta, un'avisto, e ben accorto cortegiano' (*epistula nuncupatoria* 'All'illustrissimo e reverendissimo Signor mio colendissimo il Signor Cardinale Sforza', in *I Cinque Libri delle Odi*).

forms and themes throughout the sixteenth century.⁶⁰ However, the crisis of Bembian Petrarchism, which took place after the mid-decades of the Cinquecento and was quite widespread in the years in which Giorgini wrote his translations, invited poets to do so more consistently. In this context, through his translation of Horace's odes Giorgini proved himself as an innovator of Italian lyrical poetical diction, demonstrated his metrical and rhetorical skills, and, at the same time, offered a refined example of poetry in the vernacular that could be considered as a poetical source by his contemporaries.

The approach employed by Vicomanno, who tried to reproduce the original Horatian structure and content in his translated poems, and, at the same time, re-modulated the Latin texts thanks to the use of many rhetorical features, is also followed by Giorgini in his translations. Nevertheless, since Giorgini applies his predecessor's technique to the Latin poet's whole lyrical corpus, he notably increases the number of metrical schemes and structures used. In his verses Giorgini employs six different metrical forms: the traditional *canzone* (sixty-three occurrences), the madrigal (thirty-six occurrences), the sonnet (eight occurrences), the ballad (four occurrences), the *sestina* (three occurrences), and a sixth metrical scheme that he calls 'ottavina' (one occurrence), which follows the structure of the *sestina*, even though its strophes are made of eight lines rather than six. This recapitulatory scheme bears witness to the fact that the author mainly aims to renew the Italian poetical tradition through the employment of new rhetorical modes, stylistic features, and thematic subjects, rather than to reject the conventional Petrarchan metrical schemes, which he generally seems to respect. Giorgini departs from Petrarch's model in just

⁶⁰ See chapter 4.

two ways. On the one hand, he makes use of a form (the ‘ottavina’) that is very rare and does not find a precedent in Petrarch’s works; on the other hand, he completely upsets the proportions of the various metrical forms in terms of their occurrences in the volume. For example, less than a tenth of Petrarch’s rhymes are *canzoni*, while Giorgini employs this form in almost half of his texts. Similarly, while the majority of Petrarch’s poems are sonnets, Giorgini wrote only eight texts in that metrical form. This tendency is inverted in the case of madrigals, of which there are only four in the *Canzoniere*, versus thirty-six in Giorgini’s volume. Therefore, although the translator states in his preface that he follows Petrarch’s model in terms of both the metres used and the occurrence of each metrical form,⁶¹ his choices do not rigorously match those of his vernacular model.

Two other external elements underline the importance of metrics in Giorgini’s edition. The first is a short critical treatise on metrics, printed at the end of his volume. This work, entitled *Discorso dell’autore circa le varie spetie, o mutanze de versi italiani*,⁶² elucidates the techniques that Giorgini employed in his works to constantly vary the metrical schemes of his texts. Here, the author briefly describes the various metrical forms of the Italian tradition (from the sonnet to the ballad, from the *ottava* to the *sestina*); then he much more diffusely focuses on the innumerable possibilities in composing *canzoni* offered by Italian metrics, mainly thanks to the increase or reduction of lines per strophe, as well as to the various ways of combining hendecasyllables with *settenari* and the arrangement of the verses in the stanzas. Finally, he addresses some suggestions to his readers, by highlighting the

⁶¹ ‘Ho infatti quasi imitate tutte le mutanze del Petrarca e in quanto alle cadenze e quanto alla qualità de versi e quanto al numero’ (*I Cinque Libri delle Odi*, fol. A2^v).

⁶² See *I Cinque Libri delle Odi*, pp. 109^r-114^v.

necessity for a good poet (as he implicitly declares himself to be) of employing a large range of metrical forms in order to show his abilities. Through this *Discorso* Giorgini both praises his own poetical capacities and provides a handy metrical treatise, which his contemporaries could not only refer to when translating texts, but also, more generally, could use to learn how to compose poetry.

The second element that highlights the centrality of metrics for Giorgini is the placement of rubrics at the beginning of each text of the volume. In these short titles the author does not simply mention the dedicatee and the content of the ode (e.g., ‘Canzone prima a Mecenate. De i vari appetiti degli uomini’ or ‘Canzone seconda a Cesare Augusto. Trattando della morte di Caio Cesare’), but also indicates the metrical form according to which each text is written, and where it fits within the sequence of specific forms. So, for example, the first six texts consist of four *canzoni*, one sonnet, and one ballad, and their rubrics state respectively: ‘canzone prima’, ‘canzone seconda’, ‘canzone terza’, ‘sestina prima’, ‘sonetto primo’ ‘canzone quarta’. The foregrounding of the metrical form in the rubrics contributes to highlighting the importance metre has in Giorgini’s volume, since it represents the key ordering principle of the texts.⁶³

Vicomanno and Giorgini’s works explicitly present themselves on their title pages as translations of Horatian texts, like the volumes by Fabrini and Dolce.

⁶³ The complexity of Giorgini’s ordering method entailed some mistakes in the references to the growing numbers of each metrical system’s occurrences. In fact, one can count six numeration errors: 1) the translation of *Carm.* I, 18 is labelled as ‘sonetto settimo’, instead of ‘sonetto quinto’ (as it should be since it is the fifth poem composed in a sonnet form of the first book). As a consequence, the numeration of the following three sonnets (those translating *Carm.* I, 19, I, 21, and I, 25) is altered 2) and 3) The poems translating *Carm.* I, 34 and I, 38 are labelled as ‘madrigale dodicesimo’ and ‘quindicesimo’, instead of ‘undicesimo’ and ‘quattordicesimo’. 4) and 5) The *canzoni* translating respectively *Carm.* II, 19 and III, 16 are not the seventeenth of the second book and the ninth of the third (as it is written in the volume), but the sixteenth and the tenth. 6) The text translating *Epod.* 17 should not be ‘canzone nona’, but ‘canzone sesta’.

However, throughout the sixteenth century other less overt forms of translation of the Horatian corpus took place. Many sixteenth-century poetical compositions could be classified as translations of classical works, given that they closely follow Horatian features and modes. These poems, which are quite widespread both in manuscript and print, exceed the boundaries of what could be considered in this chapter. Nevertheless, it is worth focusing on some poems that, while not defined as translations by their authors, were considered as such by their contemporaries. I will study three examples of this phenomenon. The first case is related to the ‘transmetrizzazione’ of some Horatian odes, probably composed as a literary exercise by the Florentine poet Benedetto Varchi (1502-1565) in his early poetic production.⁶⁴ These few texts, closely modelled on the *Carmina* and preserved in two unpublished manuscripts,⁶⁵ have a particular importance for the present investigation. They must have been known to Giovanbattista Busini, Varchi’s friend and biographer, who mentions in his *Vita* of the poet some lyrical texts in which the author transferred the Latin odes into the Florentine tongue.⁶⁶ Thanks to Busini’s statement, Varchi can be included among the explicit Horatian translators of the

⁶⁴ On Varchi’s multifaceted and rooted interest for Horace see section 4.2.

⁶⁵ Varchi translated *Carm.* II, 8 and III, 13 in two poems, composed in unrhymed Italian Sapphic quatrains: ‘O più che ’l vetro assai lucido fonte’ and ‘S’a te Barina mille volte havere’ (the first text was anthologized in Federzoni’s volume *Alcune odi*, pp. 27-28). The two manuscripts that preserve them are: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. Mgl. VII 730, fols 59^r-59^v; and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. II 8.146, fols 87^r-90^r. On the latter manuscript see Anna Siekiera, ‘Varchi, Benedetto’, in *Autografi dei letterati italiani*, ed. by Matteo Motolese and Emilio Russo, 4 vols (Rome: Salerno, 2009), III.1 (*Il Cinquecento*), 337-57. On both manuscripts and on Varchi’s translations see Franco Tomasi, “‘Mie rime nuove non viste ancor già mai ne’ toscani lidi’”. Odi ed elegie volgari di Benedetto Varchi’, in *Varchi e altro Rinascimento. Studi offerti a Vanni Bramanti*, ed. by Salvatore Lo Re and Franco Tomasi (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 2013), pp. 173-214.

⁶⁶ The passage from the *Vita* written by Busini states: ‘dove prima era tutto dedito agli studi latini si volse [...] a comporre sonetti et altre maniere di versi toscani, voltando ode d’Oratio e canzone di Tibullo di latino nel nostro parlare fiorentino con tanta leggiadria et così acconciamente che venne desiderio a Niccolò Machiavelli, già vecchio, et a Lodovico Martelli detto il Piovano, il quale allora fioriva dopo Luigi Alamanni, che era in que’ tempi fuoriuscito, più che alcun altro della nostra città nel comporre toscanamente, di conoscerlo’. This passage can be read in Salvatore Lo Re, *Politica e cultura nella Firenze cosimiana. Studi su Benedetto Varchi* (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 2008), p. 96.

sixteenth century. The second episode deals with Francesco Coppetta de' Beccuti (1509-1553), who composed many Petrarchan poems, among which some texts that closely followed Horatian features and modes. The dependence of some of these works on their classical models must have been so evident that they were printed in Coppetta's book of rhymes (printed in 1580) in a separate section, entitled 'Tradutioni da Horatio', consisting of four poems.⁶⁷ We do not know whether the author decided to detach these four texts from the rest of his corpus, but, since his *Canzoniere* was published posthumously, it is possible that it was Ubaldo Bianchi, a friend of the poet and editor of his work, who introduced the section title 'Tradutioni da Horatio'.

An anthology of Italian poems published in Venice in 1605, offers us the third example of Renaissance classifications of a text as a translation. The editor of this volume was Giovanni Narducci, an erudite scholar from Perugia who collected thirty-three texts, composed by a dozen poets throughout the Cinquecento, and printed them under the eloquent title of *Odi diverse d'Orazio vulgarizzate da alcuni nobilissimi ingegni*.⁶⁸ It is worth noting that in this case Narducci decided to label the collected texts as translations in the title of his volume, even though many of the rhymes were not defined as such by their authors. This publication is not particularly remarkable for its scope, since it collects the verse of several poets, but the rationale

⁶⁷ See Coppetta's sonnet 'Archita, che la terra e 'l mar sovente' drawn from *Carm.* I, 28; his octaves 'Amor che voli ai bei pensieri in cima' taken from *Carm.* I, 30; his canzone's strophe 'Non ti lagnar, Tibullo' following from *Carm.* I, 33; and his octave 'Quando sarà ch'io veggia ai giorni miei' derived from *Carm.* IV, 10. All these texts can be read in *Rime di Messer Francesco Coppetta de' Beccuti* (Venice: Guerra, 1580).

⁶⁸ *Odi diverse d'Orazio vulgarizzate da alcuni nobilissimi ingegni raccolte per Giovanni Narducci da Perugia* (Venice: Gerolamo Polo, 1605). This is a rare edition, whose only two copies are currently catalogued: one is housed in the Biblioteca dei Girolamini in Naples and the other in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. I consulted the second copy, from which I quote. On Narducci's anthology see IURILLI, pp. 65-66 and 137-38.

behind the constitution of this anthology is noteworthy. Indeed, the texts collected together seem to be presented not merely as Italian versions of Horatian poems, but as polished and refined equivalents of their sophisticated originals. As Antonio Iurilli has pointed out,⁶⁹ Narducci's volume apparently aims to exhibit a range of poetical texts worth of being placed on the same level as those of Horace; this operation served to testify the capacity of Italian poetry to share the same literary status as its classical equivalent. Moreover, through the collected poems the editor seems to be only partially interested in displaying the exuberant rhetorical features that Vicomanno or Giorgini employed, since his main concern appears to be that of rendering the true meanings of the Latin works into vernacular forms.

In order to better understand this aspect, it is worth first focusing on the construction of Narducci's anthology. The editor mainly gathers unpublished texts; although authors from all over the Peninsula are represented, the majority of the poets have a link to the city of Cosenza and its Academy, where they probably received the stimulus to devote their literary pursuits to Horace. These figures were Sertorio Quattromani, Antonio Tilesio (a relative of the philosopher Bernardino), Tiberio di Tarsia (brother of the Petrarchist poet Galeazzo), Giulio Cavalcanti, and Cosimo Morelli.⁷⁰ Along with them, there are authors from Naples (such as Alessandro di Costanzo), Mantua (such as Curzio Gonzaga), the Veneto (such as Giovan Giorgio Trissino and Domenico Venier), Lombardy (such as Francesco Peranda, from Como), and the Papal State (such as Annibale Caro, from Civitanova Marche, and Francesco Maria Cristiani, from Fabriano). Narducci generally collected

⁶⁹ See IURILLI, p. 66.

⁷⁰ Many of these figures are still obscure to scholarship and knowledge of their lives and works is scarce. On Antonio Tilesio see Antonio Pagano, *Antonio Telesio: memoria premiata dall'Accademia Pontaniana nella tornata del 5 giugno 1921* (Naples: Federico-Ardia, 1922).

one single text per poet, making exceptions only for three of them: Di Costanzo (eleven poems), Di Tarsia (six), Quattromani (two). He also published five texts composed by anonymous writers. Consequently, the texts, included in the volume, are thirty-three in total, and translate twenty-three Horatian poems.⁷¹ Six texts are devoted to *Carm.* II, 10 (the golden-mean ode), five poems translate *Carm.* III, 9 (the love ode to Lydia), and two compositions are dedicated to *Carm.* III, 10 (the *paraklausithyron* ode), while all the other twenty texts render into Italian one ode each. In terms of metrics, Narducci's anthology mainly includes texts in blank verse. Twenty-seven out of the thirty-three poems are composed in accordance with this scheme, whereas only Corelli's version of *Carm.* II, 5, Cristiani's translation of *Carm.* II, 10, and Trissino, Caro, Gonzaga, and Venier's poems, derived from *Carm.* III, 9, display other metrical structures.⁷² In contrast to Vicomanno and Giorgini's metrical and rhetorical choices, Narducci's volume aims to show that Horace's lyrical works can be rendered into Italian in a more sober way, in order not only to show the translators' metrical virtuosity, but also to invite readers to pay attention to the texts' content. The employment of blank verse was perceived as the most appropriate solution, even though Narducci cleverly points out possible alternatives, as when he lists five translations, modulated in five different metrical schemes, of the same ode (*Carm.* III, 9). The blank-verse version is composed by an anonymous author, while Caro and Gonzaga render it in mannerist six-lines strophes, Venier employs a series of rhymed tercets of hendecasyllables and *settenari* ('aBB bCC

⁷¹ Twenty-two odes and one epode: *Carm.* I, 1; I, 5; I, 6; I, 7; I, 11; I, 13; I, 15; I, 19; I, 21; I, 22; I 23; II, 3; II, 5; II, 9; II, 10; II, 14; III, 9; III, 10; III, 23; IV, 1; IV, 7; IV, 12; and *Epod.* 2.

⁷² Corelli translates *Carm.* II, 5 with a series of hendecasyllables and *settenari*; Cristiani's version of *Carm.* II, 10 is in epic octaves; the four translations of *Carm.* III, 9, instead, display four different metric structures: Trissino employs rhymed quatrains ('aBaB'), Caro and Gonzaga two six-line rhymed strophes (with two different metrical scheme, respectively: 'aBbAcC', and 'abaBcC'); finally, Venier employs a series of rhymed tercets of hendecasyllables and *settenari* ('aBB bCC cDD' etc.).

cDD' etc.), and Trissino uses rhymed quatrains, composed of two *settenari* and two hendecasyllables ('aBaB'), probably in order to render the classical scheme of the Fourth Asclepiadean system (according to which *Carm.* III, 9 is composed).⁷³

Bearing this in mind, it is also important to study Narducci's anthology from the point of view of its content. Since the anthology derives from a selection of texts, the included poems signal which part of Horace's lyrical corpus Narducci considered the most significant and, above all, most worthy of being offered to a vernacular readership. Ten out of the twenty-three Horatian odes translated in the collected poems deal with love. While amatory matters are very important to Horace, they are not one of his most frequent topics, as is shown by the fact that in his four books of *Carmina* the amatory odes represent less than a fifth of the total. The fact that Narducci collected many translations of Horatian texts dealing with love leads one to deduce that his interest was in presenting the Latin lyricist as a love poet. Narducci also, however, uses other criteria of selection. He does not, for example, include translations of those odes which have male addressees, such as *Carm.* IV, 10 and III, 30 addressed to Ligurinus and Nearcus respectively. It is possible that he was not able to find any translation of these texts, but this might be the result of a conscious editorial choice to avoid mentioning Horace's homosexual relationships. A similar criterion applies to the texts translating Horace's philosophical odes. Narducci includes in his volume translations of the Horatian *carmina* dealing with the golden mean, the invitation to set a limit to human sufferings, and gloomy reflections on the human condition. Although the range of Horace's philosophical texts is generally well represented in the anthology, translations of some very important philosophical

⁷³ See Mancini, 'L'imitazione metrica di Orazio', p. 526.

odes are missing. Indeed, those *carmina* in which Horace's Epicureanism is most evident are absent. It is true that Narducci inserts Di Costanzo's translation of the Epicurean ode (*Carm.* IV, 7) in which the Latin poet states that human beings are 'pulvis et umbra' (dust and shadow, l. 16), probably not considering this expression too unorthodox, due to the Biblical echo that can be perceived in its lines. However the editor does not collect any poem translating the much more explicitly Epicurean Ode I, 28, where Horace affirms that Architas had a 'moriturus animus' (a soul doomed to die, ll. 5-6). This passage was quite problematic for Christian poets living during the Counter-Reformation, and the choice of excluding a translation of this ode may have seemed to be the simplest way to circumvent the obstacle. Indeed, even those who could not sidestep this text, such as Fabrini and Giorgini, who both aimed to render into Italian the Horace's entire lyrical production, opted for an evasive approach. Giorgini simply bypassed the phrase and declined to translate it, just as Coppetta did in his version of this ode;⁷⁴ Fabrini either misunderstood or pretended to misunderstand the phrase 'animus moriturus' and split its two components so that 'moriturus' became a general attribute of Architas, without being linked to his soul, and 'animus' was connected to an expression in the following line.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ In his sonnet Coppetta bypasses the expression 'animus moriturus' (*Carm.* I, 28, 5-6) writing: 'Archita, che la terra e 'l mar sovente / già misurasti, or lungo l'onde salse / poca arena ti cuopre, e non ti valse / per le case del ciel girar la mente' (ll. 1-4). Giorgini does the same in his lyrical adaptation: 'Nel Matin lito morto, e senza gloria / di sepultura giacque il grand' Archita, / n' il fin de la sua vita / dal ciel li fu dimostro, ove ascendeva, / e dimorava con la mente ardita, / l' innumerabil stelle havea in memoria, / come una breve istoria, / e l' arena del mar ei ridiceva, / e pur avara a lui sotto giaceva / ne risorgeva a ricoprirli il petto / né con prieghi, o sconiuri / né con minaccie (sic.), né freddo sospetto / poté ottener da naviganti ingordi, / ch' a seppellirlo insiem fosser concordi' (ll. 56-70, in *I Cinque Libri dell' Odi*, p. 26).

⁷⁵ Fabrini writes: 'seguita Oratio di parlare al morto [nec tibi prodest] né ti giova [quidquam] punto [tentasse] haver tentato, haver investigato [domos aereas] le case celesti; *questo dice perché fu astrologo grandissimo* [que] e [decurrisse] haver discorso, e considerato [animo] con l' animo [polum rotundum] il tondo cielo [morituro] havendo ad ogni modo a morire' (*Le opere d' Oratio*, p. 85).

Along with the translations of ten love *carmina* and nine philosophical odes, Narducci's anthology also contains translations of the proemial *carmen* (*Carm.* I, 1), of two odes dealing with Horace's domestic piety (*Carm.* I, 21, and III, 23), and of the second epode, in which the poet praises country life. Narducci does not, however, include any translation of Horace's political, encomiastic, or poetical odes, nor the majority of the Latin poet's religious compositions. These choices may be partially explained by his cultural and political milieu. At the end of the sixteenth century, the civil role of men of letters was restricted to the world of the academies, and any form of political poetry was almost inconceivable. Moreover, since in Counter-Reformation Italy any allusion to paganism required careful handling, it is not surprising if Narducci did not include many translations of Horatian political or religious texts in his volume. It is more interesting to note, however, that he also excluded translations of Horace's eulogistic compositions. This could be due to the fact that the encomiastic tones of the Latin poet towards Maecenas or Augustus were perceived as too confidential or even inappropriate for the late-sixteenth-century Italian courtly world.

The final picture of Horatian poetry offered by Narducci's volume is quite different from that provided by Horace's *Carmina*. Narducci's *Odi diverse di Orazio vulgarizzate* depict the Latin author mainly as a poet of love and morals, in accordance, interestingly, with the picture of Horace provided by Giorgini in the *epistola nuncupatoria* of his edition. Irrefutably, Narducci's anthology also constitutes an admirable example of the sixteenth-century concept of translating classical lyrical compositions. Furthermore, the volume displays a unique range of Horatian translations; these dispense with the rhetorical and metrical virtuosity of

other translators (and probably of an incipient Baroque age), exhibiting the sober and elegant forms of blank-verse poetry, whose features aim to faithfully reproduce the meaning of the original odes in the Italian texts.

Interesting elements emerge from the analysis of one poem included in Narducci's anthology *vis-à-vis* other translations of the same Horatian ode. *Carm.* II, 14, 'Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume', is one of the most famous Horatian odes. The text is addressed to Postumus and deals with the passage of time and the impossibility for human beings of escaping death. In other poems, the meditation on these two themes often provides Horace with the stimulus to rejoice in the momentary pleasures of life, finding comfort in the joys of the banquet atmosphere and the company of trustful friends. But these elements are absent in *Carm.* II, 14, where the final image, after the poet has invited Postumus to gaze at his hopeless future, is that of a young heir who will joylessly dissipate his inheritance. This ode had not only been translated by Fabrini and Giorgini as part of their project of translating the whole Horatian lyrical corpus, but also by Vicomanno and Tiberio di Tarsia, whose version was included in Narducci's anthology. Whereas Fabrini, as usual, translated the *carmen* in prose, both Vicomanno and Di Tarsia composed their versions in blank verse (and both rendered the twenty-eight lines of the original text with thirty-two hendecasyllables). Giorgini, on the other hand, transformed Horace's seven Alcaic strophes into an Italian *canzone* of four nine-line stanzas whose metrical scheme is 'ABAaBcDCD'. Of the four translations, Fabrini's text is closest to the original ode, mainly thanks to the employment of prose, but it also lacks any

form of lyricism or poetic afflatus.⁷⁶ Particularly striking in his text is the brief introduction to the ode, which simplifies and misconstrues the real meaning of the Horatian *carmen*, probably to dissimulate the poem's Epicurean components. Fabrini obscures the despairing tone of the composition and reduces the ode to a mere rhetorical *variatio* of one of Horace's commonplaces. In fact, after summarizing the first part of the text,⁷⁷ Fabrini adds some words that are unrelated to the actual content of the ode in order to soften its meaning.⁷⁸ By contrast, Giorgini offers a more faithful rendition of the poem, but seems to exaggerate the centrality of the final detail of the heir who will dissipate his inheritance in order to censure him.⁷⁹ Thus, he partially changes the perspective of the original Latin text, which does not denounce the inheritor's yearnings, but rather focuses on human mortality and the

⁷⁶ 'Oimè, Postumo mio, Postumo mio, gli anni fugaci (fuggitivi) se ne vanno (ci fuggono tra le mani) né pietà alcuna fa indugiare (ritarda) le grigne del viso, la vecchiezza che soprastà (che è sempre amanita [...]) e non ritarda pietà alcuna la morte che mai non è stata domata né si può domare. O amico mio, tu non placheresti mai Plutone giudice dell'Inferno [...] inesorabile (ostinato), anche se gli facessi sacrificio con trecento tori quanti giorni vanno [...], il quale circonda con la sua acqua trista e malinconica Gerione tre volte grande [...] e Tizio [...] acqua da essere navigate [...] da ognuno chiunque noi ci siamo, che godiamo i frutti della terra [...] ovvero se noi saremo re, contadini, poveri, in vano noi schiferemo la guerra sanguinosa e in vano ci guarderemo dall'onde rotte del mar Adriano tempestoso, in vano noi ci guarderemo dal vento Austro che nuove a corpi il tempo dell'autunno [...]. Bisogna che ognuno visiti il Cocito nero, spaventoso che va vagabondo con un mesto corso e la generazione di Danao, bisogna che ognuno vegga Sisifo figliuolo d'Eolo della lunga fatica condannato [...]. Bisogna abbandonare la terra e la casa e la moglie piacevole; ne alcun albero di questi che tu hai in veneration in fuor che i cipressi odiati [...] seguirà te, suo padrone di corta vita [...]. Il tuo erede che sarà più degno di te consumer (berrà) i delicate vini che tu hai serbati (riposte tenuti serrate) con cento chiavi e tignerà il pavimento (lo spazzo, il mattonato delle sale, delle camera) con l'ottimo vino migliore e più degno del vino che bee alla cena de' Pontefici' (*L'opere d'Oratio poeta lirico commentate da Giovanni Fabrini*, pp. 138-41). In this case I do not transcribe the Latin words amid the Italian text; I have placed the synonyms that Fabrini gives for some expressions between brackets; the square brackets, instead, signal passages I have omitted, in which Fabrini comments on the lines he has translated.

⁷⁷ 'Oratio scrive ad un suo amico, che haveva nome Postumo, che la gioventù passa via volando, e che volando ne viene senza rispetto alcuno la vecchiezza, o la morte, e che bisogna morire ad ogni modo' (*L'opere d'Oratio poeta lirico commentate da Giovanni Fabrini*, p. 138).

⁷⁸ 'E lo conforta che più tosto egli vogli attendere a godere quello che egli ha che cercare d'accumular troppo per li suoi heredi' (*Ibid.*).

⁷⁹ Giorgini, in fact, writes 'L'herede tuo di te sarà più degno / ch'i pretiosi vin possenti, e antiqui / che cento chiavi han riserrati in legno / e senz'alcun ritegno / consumerà co i suoi compagni iniqui' (*I Cinque Libri dell'Odi*, p. 46). Words in italics are mine to point out the additions of the Italian translator.

unavoidable consequences of this condition, such as the necessity to leave one's possessions to future generations.

Unlike Giorgini and Fabrini's texts, those by Vicomanno and Di Tarsia follow the original text with precision, and even try to reproduce the rhetorical features of Horace's *carmen* in their lines. One of the most evident examples of this trend is offered by the means through which Di Tarsia and Vicomanno re-create the feeling of anxiety that Horace conveys through the repetitions he employs in his ode (such as in the opening line of the *carmen*, 'Eheu, fugaces, Postume, Postume'). Di Tarsia does not apply this poetical feature of repetition to the name of the ode's addressee, but to the thematic verb, which gives voice to the uninterrupted passage of time ('Fugge Posthumo, ohime, la vita fugge', l. 1);⁸⁰ Vicomanno, instead, displays the same rhetorical trope in many passages of his text, structuring it according to the feature of repetition in order to stylistically focus on the fleetingness of existence. Vicomanno writes: 'Ohimè Posthumo, Posthumo volando / corrono gli anni; né pietà si truova' (ll. 1-2); then 'È forza, è forza di veder Cocito' (l. 16); and 'È forza, è forza di lasciar la Terra' (l. 21).⁸¹

This brief analysis of four translations provides evidence of the various approaches that different authors applied when translating the same poetical text. The four compositions do not only differ in terms of rhetorical forms and stylistic modes, but also, partially, in terms of content, since stressing the importance of a minor detail (as in the poems by Giorgini and Fabrini) can tinge the translation with quite different colours from those of the original poem. Moreover, as mentioned above, Di

⁸⁰ *Odi diverse d'Orazio vulgarizzate*, p. 40.

⁸¹ *Traduttione di alquante ode*, fols B7^r and B7^v.

Tarsia's blank-verse translation, included in Narducci's anthology, is one of the two texts that display the soberest features, mainly aiming to closely reproduce the meaning of the Horatian ode.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that throughout the Cinquecento, and especially during the second half of the century, there was a widespread interest in translating Horatian works into the Italian vernacular in various cultural milieux of the Peninsula. The authors of the first half of the sixteenth century were generally more interested in translating Horace's hexametric production, and particularly his *Art of Poetry*. Lodovico Dolce, the first Italian translator of a Horatian work, published, first, his blank-verse version of the *Epistle to the Pisones* in 1535, and then, in 1559, printed his translation of the whole Horatian hexametrical corpus, which aimed to reproduce the meanings of Horace's texts rather than his words ('rappresentar più i sensi che le parole'). Despite the comprehensiveness of his stated aim, Dolce in fact sometimes obscured some of the Latin poet's meanings through minor forms of censorship, aiming to preserve his Italian texts from any of his model's unorthodox ideas or indecent expressions. Nevertheless, after Dolce's 1559 volume, the *Satires* and the *Epistles* were no longer translated in poetical compositions until the eighteenth century. The *Ars Poetica*, on the other hand, was at the centre of the interests of many other Italian translators throughout the Cinquecento, such as Agnolo Firenzuola, Filippo Valentini, and Sertorio Quattromani, who composed both a verse and a prose version of Horace's *Art of Poetry* in the late decades of the century.

Another prose translation of this text appeared in Fabrini's 1566 volume as part of Fabrini's complete translation of the entire Horatian corpus, the first and the only complete operation of this kind in sixteenth-century Italy.

Horace's lyrical works had a different fate. As the next chapter shows, they had been at the centre of many Italian poets' attention as literary models since the beginning of the Cinquecento; it was only during the second half of the century, however, that collections of texts described as translations by their authors or editors appeared. Nevertheless, short series of poems that rendered into Italian vernacular some of Horace's texts and that were perceived and labelled as translations by the respective authors' contemporaries were composed throughout the middle and late decades of the sixteenth century, as in the case of the manuscript translations of some Horatian *Carmina* made by Varchi or the printed 'Tradutioni da Horatio' in Coppetta's book of verses. However, apart from Fabrini's prose translations of the *Carmina* and the *Epodes*, which were part of his larger project to translate all of Horace's texts, the first author to publish a volume exclusively and explicitly containing translations of Horace's lyrical works was Giacomo Vicomanno, in 1562. In his twelve poetic compositions one can clearly perceive the author's intention to emulate Horace through the metrical and rhetorical virtuosity of his Italian translations. This tendency was even more marked in Giovanni Giorgini's translations of the whole Horatian lyrical corpus, which appeared in the city of Jesi in 1595. His volume bears witness to the fact that, in the last decades of the Cinquecento, Horace's texts were often perceived as a stylistic and metrical laboratory from which both to derive new literary modes, and to conduct new mannerist poetical experiments. In contrast to this paradigm, the anthology of

Horatian translations edited by Giovanni Narducci witnesses that some late-sixteenth-century men of letters, such as both the authors of the collected texts and Narducci himself, were more interested in focusing on the meanings of Horace's texts, reproducing them in elegant and neat forms, rather than emulating the literary exuberance of the classical odes.

4. RENAISSANCE ITALIAN IMITATORS OF HORACE

This chapter as well as chapter 5 will explore the various facets of Horatian imitation in the Italian Renaissance and the ways in which Italian sixteenth-century poets received the works of the Latin author. Chapter 4 will focus on the reception in the works written in the Italian vernacular, while chapter 5 will be centred on the Neo-Latin compositions written by Italian poets. I employ the adjective ‘Neo-Latin’ for the only reason to differentiate those literary works written in Latin in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from those composed, always in Latin, in the Roman era. In these last two chapters of my dissertation, my aim is to chart the map of the Horatian imitation through the poetical works. I will not linger on those written in prose, nor on the epic poems, nor on theatrical plays.

My investigation of the vernacular reception of Horace will start from the satires produced during the sixteenth century, with a specific focus on those of Ludovico Ariosto and Luigi Alamanni (4.1). I will then consider those authors (such as Renato Trivulzio, Benedetto Varchi, and, above all, Torquato Tasso) who tried to reproduce the Horatian odes in their lyrical poems, employing other metrical forms rather than those prescribed by Bembo, the theoretician of Petrarchism (4.2). Afterward, I will focus on another example of imitation of the modes of the classical author carried on outside the boundaries of Bembian tradition: that of Claudio Tolomei and his anthology of ‘barbaric’ verses (1539), whose intention was to accurately reproduce

the Latin metres in vernacular forms (4.2). I will later analyse the forms of the Horatian reception that Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sannazaro, the other founding father of sixteenth-century Petrarchism, displayed in their works. Their choices of drawing features and modes from the Latin author had a prestigious precedent in the example of Petrarch, who had in Horace one of his most important reference points. However, neither Bembo nor Sannazaro closely imitated those texts in which Petrarch followed Horace. They simply derived from his example the practice of enlarging the range of their poetical diction, by deriving from Horace new rhetorical forms, themes, and stylistic patterns (4.3).

From the 1530s on, many Italian lyricists followed Bembo's example in their own books of rhymes. I will finally analyse the poems of those who followed the Bembian model and imitated Horace in their compositions. Some Petrarchists merely enriched their texts with some modes or some images, deduced from Horace, while others made Horace a more constant presence in their *Canzonieri*, to the point of structuring them according to precise Horatian patterns (4.4). I will investigate these practices throughout the mid and late decades of the sixteenth century by geographical order: I will first centre my investigation on the Neapolitan authors (4.4.1), then on the Tuscan ones (4.4.2), and finally on the Venetians (4.4.3).

4.1 THE SATIRICAL GENRE

Horace had a profound influence on Italian sixteenth-century satirical poets. One of Horace's most enthusiastic admirers was Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533). Scholars have demonstrated the close relationship existing between the two authors and provided evidence of how important the Horatian example was for the Italian poet, both in his epic masterpiece, the *Orlando furioso*, and in his Latin verses, whose Horatian features will be discussed in the next chapter.¹ But Horace's reception plays a very central role also in Ariosto's *Satire*. This work, a corpus of seven texts composed approximately between 1517 and 1525, was published only in 1534, after the author's death.² With this work Ariosto enters the field of vernacular satire, a genre that had been practiced in Italy since the 1480s.³ He made, however, a radical choice, since he was the first to follow Horace instead of imitating Juvenal, who was the undisputed model for those who wrote vernacular satires. Indeed, scholars agree that the foundational moment of this genre in Italy was the publication in 1480 in Treviso of the translation of Juvenal's satires, made by Giorgio Sommariva.⁴ From that moment on, all those who composed satires in Italian, such as Antonio

¹ On the influence of the Latin poet on Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* see Rosanna Alhaique Pettinelli, 'Orazio e Ariosto', pp. 89-110; Barbara Pavlock, 'Horace's Influence on Renaissance Epic', *The Classical World*, 87.5 (May-June 1994), 427-41; and Pio Rajna, *Le fonti dell'Orlando furioso*, ed. by Francesco Mazzoni, 2nd Ed. (Florence: Sansoni, 1975).

² See Ludovico Ariosto, *Satire*, ed. by Cesare Segre (Turin: Einaudi, 1987); and Rosanna Alhaique Pettinelli, 'Ludovico Ariosto', in *EO*, III, 95-100. I refer to these two critical works for the bibliography on the *Satire*, whose first edition was: Ludovico Ariosto, *Le Satire* (Ferrara: Francesco Rosso di Valenza, 1534). The published book neither reports the name of the printer nor the city of publication. The volume had been associated to the printing house of Francesco Rosso di Valenza by Agnelli and Ravegnani (see Giuseppe Agnelli and Giuseppe Ravegnani, *Annali delle edizioni ariostesche*, 2 vols [Bologna: Zanichelli, 1933], II, 3-4); Segre ('Nota al testo', in Ariosto, *Satire*, pp. xv-xxix [p. xvi]) disagrees with their attribution.

³ See Carlo Dionisotti, *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, pp. 129-30; Armando Balduino, 'Le esperienze della poesia volgare', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, III.1, 265-367 (pp. 345-46); and Piero Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco. La satira classicistica nel Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1988), p. 46.

⁴ See Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, pp. 46-47.

Vinciguerra (c. 1440-1502), Nicolò Cosmico (c. 1420-1500), and Marcello Filosseno (1450-1520), had Juvenal as their unique reference point.⁵ Ariosto, however, chose to follow Horace's modulation of the genre; his approach not merely implied the use of new rhetorical features or themes, but signalled a complete change of approach and perspective towards the satirical matter. The author, on the one hand, abandoned Juvenal's traits and modes, such as his invective against the vices and exaltation of the superior status of the satirist, which allowed the author to condemn his fellow citizens as an impartial judge; on the other hand, he introduced Horace's gentle reproach of sins and defects with its particular mixture of humanity and sympathy.⁶ The decision to take Horace as his model was certainly due to personal reasons of taste and cultural affinity, but it is not unlikely that the environment in which Ariosto composed his works, where Horace occupied a privileged position in terms of cultural pre-eminence, contributed to the author's resolution. From the last decades of the fifteenth century, as we have seen in chapter 2, Horace was at the centre of the academic and literary interests of many important figures who worked in Bologna and in the Emilia area, such as Nicolò Perotti, who composed fundamental works on Horace's metrics, and Ludovico Carbone and Antonio Urceo Codro, both possibly students of Perotti, and both poets who composed Neo-Latin verses where the imitation of Horace was evident.⁷ Codro's *Sermones* in turn influenced the texts of

⁵ See Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, pp. 46-54.

⁶ See David Marsh, 'Horatian Influence and Imitation in Ariosto's *Satires*', *Comparative Literature*, 27 (1975), 307-26; and Walter Binni, 'Il tono medio delle Satire', in Id., *Metodo e poesia di Ludovico Ariosto* (Messina-Florence: D'Anna, 1961), pp. 53-72.

⁷ See CURCIO, pp. 54-55; and Pietro Floriani, 'Protostoria delle satire ariostesche', *RLI*, 1 (1983), 491-526. Carboni and Codro's poetical production will be analysed in section 5.3. On Perotti's teaching in Bologna and his Horatian treatises see section 2.1. For a general overview of humanist satire see Giuseppina Stella Galbiati, 'Per una teoria della satira fra Quattro e Cinquecento', *Italianistica*, 16.1 (1987), 9-37; and Jozef Ijsewijn, 'Neo-Latin Satire: "sermo" and "satyra Menippea"', in *Classical Influences in European Culture, AD 1500-1700*, ed. by Robert Bolgar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 41-55.

two other Neo-Latin Emilian poets of the following generation, Tito Vespasiano Strozzi from Ferrara (1424-c. 1505) and Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli from Rimini (1456-1524).⁸ Both composed hexametrical *Sermones* (published in 1513 and 1505 respectively)⁹ where the Horatian ‘gentle laughter’ (‘levis risus’) and his soft approach to denouncing human vices are noticeable. These two works circulated in Ariosto’s milieu during his formative years, and it is reasonable to presume that they offered him illustrious precedents for abandoning Juvenal’s forms and modes and following the model of Horace.¹⁰

As I mentioned above, in his *Satire* Ariosto shares the Horatian approach of gently laughing at the characters with whom he urbanely converses, instead of harshly reproaching them. He does not present himself as a figure who rebukes and censures those who sin, as if he were separated from them by a higher moral status; rather, he shares the same human condition as his interlocutors. From this awareness and from the consequent perception of being subject to the same human passions derives a deep feeling of mutual understanding. Ariosto also takes from Horace’s texts the friendly atmosphere one can perceive in his verses, and the dialogic form in which it takes place.¹¹ As Guido Sacchi observes, through Ariosto’s *Satire* the

⁸ See Ingrid De Smet, ‘Satire’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, ed. by Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 199-214 (p. 202). On the neo-Latin satire see also David Marsh, ‘Satire’, in *BENLW*, I, 413-23.

⁹ Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, *Sermonum liber*, in *Strozzi Poetae pater et filius* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, 1513), pp. 237-46; and Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, *Sermones* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, 1505).

¹⁰ On Codro’s satirical works see Antonio Urceo Codro, *Sermones (I-IV). Filologia e maschera nel Quattrocento*, ed. by Luisa Chines and Andrea Severi (Rome: Carocci, 2013). On the relation between Ariosto and Augurelli see Nikolaus Thurn, ‘Die horazische Satire zwischen Augurelli und Ariost’, in *Epochen der Satire: Traditionslinien einer literarischen Gattung in Antike, Mittelalter und Renaissance*, ed. by Thomas Haye and Franziska Schooner (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 2008), pp. 259-74. On the relation between Ariosto and Strozzi see Curcio, p. 106; Stella Galbiati, ‘Per una teoria della satira’, 19; and Antonello Fabio Caterino, ‘Fillirole e i suoi poeti: da Tito Strozzi a Ludovico Ariosto’, *Annali Online UniFE*, 6.1-2 (2011), 182-208 <<http://annali.unife.it/lettere/article/view/244>> [accessed 10 September 2015].

¹¹ See Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, pp. 63-93.

familiar atmosphere and the dialogue among friends make their first appearance in Italian literature.¹² From his Latin model Ariosto also derives many of the themes and modes he develops in his texts, such as the declaration of personal independence from his patron, the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, to whom Ariosto was faithful but whom he refused to follow to Hungary, despite the cardinal's warning that this choice might lead to the loss of all the benefits he had received until that moment; or the celebration of countryside as a place of rest in opposition to courtly life. Ariosto also employs specific Horatian rhetorical features, such as the *apologi*, the short animal fables that the Latin poet introduced in his satires and epistles to convey a particular moral teaching through a metaphorical lens.¹³

In the same years in which Ariosto was devoting his literary efforts to the satirical genre, Luigi Alamanni (1495-1556), another eminent figure of the literary scene of the first half of the sixteenth century, composed his own satires.¹⁴ Born and educated in Florence, Alamanni escaped to France in 1522, seeking asylum after taking part in a failed conspiracy against Giuliano de' Medici. He returned to Florence in 1527 to participate in the brief and disastrous Florentine Republic. Once the Medici returned to their city in 1530, Alamanni, who was in France trying to convince King Francis I to support the desperate resistance of the Florentine Republic, was exiled from his native city and remained at the Valois court for the

¹² See Guido Sacchi, 'Esperienze minori della mimesi', in *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, VII.2, 1037-1125 (p. 1102).

¹³ On Ariosto's *Apologhi* see Antonio La Penna, 'Un altro apologo oraziano nelle *Satire* dell'Ariosto e altre brevi note alle *Satire*', *RLI*, 6 (1988), 259-64.

¹⁴ On Alamanni's *Satires* see Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, pp. 95-123; Rossana Perri, 'Le satire "illustri" di Luigi Alamanni. Il canone petrarchesco tra tradizione classica e sperimentalismo volgare', *Schede umanistiche*, 2 (2004), 35-50; and Franco Tomasi, 'Appunti sulla tradizione delle *Satire* di Luigi Alamanni', *Italique*, 4 (2001), 32-59. On his figure, see Henri Hauvette, *Un exilé florentin à la cour de France au XVI siècle, Luigi Alamanni (1495-1556). Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris: Hachette, 1903); and Giancarlo Mazzacurati, '1528-1532: Luigi Alamanni, tra la piazza e la corte', in Id., *Rinascimenti in transito* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1996), pp. 89-112.

rest of his life.¹⁵ Considering the upheavals that characterized his life, one should not be surprised by the significant presence, within his book of verses, of texts dealing with political issues and designed either to praise Alamanni's friends or to blame his adversaries. Among these texts the satires are especially important. Alamanni composed twelve satires, which were published in the first of the two volumes of his *Opere toscane* in Lyon between 1532 and 1533.¹⁶ The publication of this poetical work was part of a wide-ranging political and cultural strategy promoted in those years by Francis I. The publication of Alamanni's *Opere* was entirely financed by the French king, whose key role in Alamanni's life the author praised in the preface to his first volume of verses.¹⁷ Alamanni clearly states that he considers the monarch as his only support in a corrupt world, and, at the same time, as an enlightened Maecenas. Moreover, like Dante and Ovid before him, in his poems Alamanni plays the role of the unjustly exiled poet, while Francis I is presented as the generous protector who offered him his hospitality as the guarantor of new peace. Thanks to the constant employment of this metaphor in his texts, Alamanni succeeded in adapting his literary production to the necessities of Valois propaganda.¹⁸ The prefatory letter also shows that the *Opere toscane* represented a literary project of a renewed classicism in the Italian language. According to Giancarlo Mazzacurati,

¹⁵ Alamanni's life is perfectly inscribed within the scheme provided by Paolo Simoncelli, *Fuoriuscitismo repubblicano fiorentino 1530-1554* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2006).

¹⁶ Luigi Alamanni, *Opere Toscane*, 2 vols (Lyon: Gryphe, 1532-1533).

¹⁷ See Franco Tomasi, 'La poésie italienne à la court de François I^{er}: Alamanni, Martelli et autres cas exemplaires', in *La poésie à la cour de François I^{er}*, ed. by Jean-Etudes Girot (Paris: PUPS, 2012), pp. 65-88 (p. 71).

¹⁸ See Tomasi, 'Appunti sulla tradizione delle *Satire*', 36; Id., "'L'amata patria", i "dolci occhi" e il "gran gallico Re": la lirica di Luigi Alamanni nelle *Opere toscane*', in *Chemins de l'exil. Havres de paix. Migration d'hommes et d'idées au xv^e siècle. Actes du colloque de Tours, 8-9 novembre 2007*, ed. by Jean Balsamo and Chiara Lastraioli (Paris: Champion, 2010), pp. 353-80 (p. 355 n. 4); and Paola Cosentino, 'L'intellettuale e la corte: Luigi Alamanni e la monarchia francese', in *Cultura e potere nel Rinascimento. Atti del nono convegno internazionale (Chianciano-Pienza, 21-24 luglio 1997)*, ed. by Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Florence: Franco Cesati, 1999), pp. 398-404.

Alamanni's collection of poems is one of the largest miscellanies of styles and metres that one can find in a sixteenth-century poetic anthology.¹⁹ Alamanni created a collection of texts to express in a modern language (the Italian vernacular) the potentials of the ancient elegiac, lyrical, satirical, and tragic genres. Sixteenth-century France, which was about to discover (if not properly 'invent') a poetical tradition, received Alamanni's *Opere* as the most useful handbook of forms and themes to imitate. The tools provided by Alamanni were employed not only by the Italianized French milieu surrounding Francis I, but also by the members of the next *Pléiade* generation.²⁰

The main model that Alamanni followed in his satirical works was Juvenal. Many stylistic features and thematic choices of the Florentine poet, such as the strong tone of his indignation toward sins, his strict and inflexible condemnation of vices, his self-portraiture as someone free from faults,²¹ along with some forms of misogyny,²² demonstrate Alamanni's strong links with Juvenal. Nevertheless, Alamanni was aware of the importance that contemporary scholars (such as Badius Ascensius)²³ and poets (such as Ercole Strozzi and Ludovico Ariosto) attributed to Horace in the field of new satirical compositions, and he proved not to be indifferent to these suggestions. In fact, although his tone is generally distant from Horace's *suavitas* and *hilaritas*, other less evident but still highly pervasive Horatian modes

¹⁹ See Mazzacurati, '1528-1532: Luigi Alamanni', p. 93.

²⁰ See Mazzacurati, '1528-1532: Luigi Alamanni', p. 102; and Olga Rossetini Trtnik, *Les influences anciennes et italiennes sur la satire en France au XVI^e siècle* (Florence: Institut français-Sansoni antiquariato, 1958).

²¹ See the preface by Alamanni to his *Opere toscane*, p. 4, where he writes '[sono] sciolto quanto più posso da quelle passioni, che al più soglion far traviare gli humani ingegni'.

²² See satire 5, 'Perch'io sovente già vi vidi acceso', and Tomasi, 'Appunti sulla tradizione delle *Satire*', 43-44.

²³ Badius Ascensius wrote in the preface (*Praenotamenta*) to his commentary to Horace (which I analysed in section 2.2) that the Latin poet should be considered the best among the classical satirists (APPENDIX [12], p. 154a). See also Stella Galbiati, 'Per una teoria della satira', 20-24.

and forms are present in Alamanni's satires. This phenomenon can be traced at all levels, including thematic inspiration, lexical calque, the general pattern of some of his compositions, and even the explicit emulation of Horatian features drawn not only from the *Sermones* but also the *Epistles*, and even the *Odes* and *Epodes*. A quick analysis of some examples will provide evidence of this trend and demonstrate the importance that Horace had for Alamanni's *Satire*.

Indeed, Alamanni uses Horace in three main ways to adorn his writings with learned allusions, as a structural model, and as a text that he almost paraphrases. The first mode can be seen, for example, in the satire 'Or mi minaccia il mondo, e m'odia e teme', where Alamanni refers to *Sat.* I, 4, 24-25²⁴ when he deals with the feeling of fear the world has of his satirical verses.²⁵ In the satire 'Per quantunque dolor m'astringa il core', devoted to describing women's manners and behaviour, Alamanni refers twice to *Carm.* III, 29. First, he alludes to ll. 49-52 in which he deals with the theme of fortune (specifically ll. 16-18); and then he refers to ll. 53-56²⁶ in a second passage (ll. 49-57).²⁷ In the same satire Alamanni partially quotes another passage from Horace. In fact, line 24 of *Sat.* I, 2²⁸ represents a possible

²⁴ Hor. *Sat.* I, 4, 24-25, 'sunt quos genus hoc minime iuvat, utpote pluris / culpari dignos' (there are people who do not like this literary genre at all, since most men deserve censure).

²⁵ 'Or mi minaccia il mondo, e m'odia, e teme, / quando prender lo stil mi sente in mano / che i miglior fa più belli, e gli altri preme' (ll. 1-3).

²⁶ Hor. *Sat.* I, 4, 53-56, 'laudo manentem: si celeres quatit / pennas, resigno quae dedit, et mea / virtute me involvo, probamque / pauperiem sine dote quaero' (I praise her while she is here: but if she flutters her swift wings, I give back the gifts she gave, wrap myself in virtue, and woo honest poverty, even though she has no dowry).

²⁷ 'Non è vita più queta e più soave / che 'l sentir seco la sua mente pia / libera e scarca d'ogni colpa grave, / morte sprezzando, e qualunque ella sia, / nel cor sicuro che speranza e tema / non ne faccia lasciar la dritta via. / Che nuocer puote all'uom, cui nullo prema / desir di cosa che nel tempo pera, / e nulla spera al mondo, e nulla tema?' (ll. 49-57).

²⁸ Hor. *Sat.* I, 2, 24, 'dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt' (in avoiding one vice, fools rush into its opposite).

subtext of ll. 68-70 of his satire.²⁹ Elsewhere, as in the satire ‘Poscia che lunge voi lasciando vidi’, the poet describes his modest life, which closely echoes that described by Horace in *Carm.* II, 16 and in *Epist.* I, 16.

In other cases, Alamanni does not simply return to the Latin poet to borrow a learned image, but he derives from his texts a textual memory,³⁰ such as the structure according to which he forms his poetical discourse. In the satire ‘Da che stolti pensier, fra quanti inganni’, for example, Alamanni denounces the ways in which human beings waste their lives and incur restlessness. He sketches in his verses a series of images describing, first, the figures of tyrants who cannot sleep, frightened as they are by theft and murder (ll. 23-30), and, then, those of merchants who face innumerable difficulties and risks to turn a profit at all costs (ll. 46-54). The same situations, through the reference to the same figures in the same order (although the tyrant is substituted by a person who cannot sleep worried that thieves steal his goods), are presented as ridiculous examples of people who waste their lives in Horace’s *Sat.* I, 1 (ll. 29-79), a model whose style Alamanni closely follows at the beginning of his satire. Similarly, Alamanni derives the pattern and the theme of his satire ‘Carco forse talor di sdegno, amico’ from the Horatian *Sat.*

²⁹ ‘Qual è colui che in disusate tempre / or non s’affanni in guadagnare affanni, / e con pena trovar la pena tempre?’ (ll. 68-70).

³⁰ With ‘textual memory’ I refer to one of the two categories of poetical imitation (i.e. ‘textual’ and ‘thematic memory’) that Elisa Curti employed in her analysis of Dantean imitation in Poliziano’s *Stanze*. See Elisa Curti, ‘Dantismi e memoria della *Commedia* nelle *Stanze* del Poliziano’, *LI*, 52.4 (2000), 530-68. What Curti calls ‘memoria testuale’ refers to all those forms of literary quotations, lexical calques, and syntactic and metrical features derivable from Horace’s texts and that pertain to the formal imitation, whereas ‘memoria tematica’ denotes any recourse to Horatian topoi, themes or images. Obviously, these two categories do not imply rigid divisions, nor do they exclude possible overlapping reminiscences, which often occur in the material we will analyse. Curti’s methodology will be considered as an underpinning framework in this chapter and the next one and it will not be rigidly followed, since a too strict categorizing attitude could prove to be not highly productive while analyzing the vast range of material that we will take here into consideration. On the contrary, Curti’s scheme will be more fruitfully applied in the conclusion of this dissertation to offer a broad overview of the phenomenon of the Horatian imitation encompassing together its Italian and Latin variants.

II, 4. In this text Horace scorns the senseless and ridiculous teachings of the pseudo-philosopher Catus, who transformed the Epicurean precepts of life into a series of culinary rules, exactly as Alamanni does in his work, where he mocks the nonsensical and foolish ideas presented by self-proclaimed philosophers. Among their teachings there are several references to gastronomy (especially ll. 64-69), which presumably allude to ll. 11-16 of the Latin *sermo*.

A third, even more intensive mode of imitation is present in Alamanni's poem 'Se con gli occhi del ver guardasse bene'. This text, which deals with the beneficial effects of escaping courtly life and celebrating virtuous solitude of country life, closely follows Horace's second epode. The Latin text appears as a eulogy of the modest pleasures of rural life, despite the fact one realizes in the last few lines that those graceful words are pronounced by a tax collector, whose ideals are completely different from those celebrated in the poem (*Epod.* 2, 67-70). Alamanni employs the same pattern in his satire, which, after the first twelve lines, quotes the Horatian epode quite literally. Sometimes the lines of the satire seem almost a translation of the classic epode, as is clear through a comparison of ll. 13-16³¹ and ll. 1-4 of the Horatian text.³² Moreover, at the end of the satire the same conclusive sentence that astonished Horace's public surprises Alamanni's readers. The praise of the georgic world, composed in the modern poem, is said to have been pronounced by a Sicilian tyrant.³³ This varied and wide-ranging employment of

³¹ 'Beato quel che in solitarie rive, / lunge dal rozzo vulgo, al nudo cielo / fuor dell'ampie città contento vive. / E sicuro si temprà il caldo e il gelo' (ll. 13-16).

³² Hor. *Epod.* 2, 1-4, 'Beatus ille qui procul negotiis, / ut prisca gens mortalium, / paterna rura bobus exercet suis / solutus omni faenore' (Blessed is he, who far from the cares of business, like one of mankind's ancient race, ploughs his paternal acres, with his own bullocks, and is free of usury's taint).

³³ 'Cotal, quasi cangiar volesse sorte, / cantò il tiranno che Sicilia oppresse, / ma l'altro giorno poi condusse a morte / i due miglior che Siracusa avesse' (ll. 91-94).

Horatian images, forms, and structures demonstrates that Alamanni did not limit himself to Juvenal as a sole model of imitation in his satires; furthermore, his use of other classical models, such as Horace's corpus, is anything but a minor aspect of his production.

After Ariosto and Alamanni, other poets devoted themselves to the satirical genre throughout the mid-sixteenth century. Almost all of them, such as Pietro Nelli (1511-1572), Giovanni Agostino Caccia (c. 1505-c. 1565), and Gabriello Simeoni (1509-1572), follow in their compositions either the ancient model of Juvenal or the modern one of Francesco Berni.³⁴ The only author who, instead, opted to take Horace's *Sermones* as his point of reference, mainly through Ariosto's lens,³⁵ was Ercole Bentivoglio (1507-1573), even though some of his texts also reflects the influence of Berni's *Capitoli*.³⁶ Bentivoglio's satires, published in 1546,³⁷ present a 'speaker' who shares the main traits of Horace's persona, since he is characterized by a genuine Epicurean wisdom, free from any judgement of his fellows, with whom, instead, he sympathetically dialogues about worldly passions. In addition to the common attitude the two authors share, Bentivoglio precisely modelled the majority of his texts on those composed by Horace, such as the satire entitled 'Viaggio di Scandiano', which is based on Horace's *Sat.* I, 5, the famous journey to Brindisi, or the satire 'A messer Flaminio', a text in which the poet describes his daily activities taking as a reference point a notorious Horatian

³⁴ See Sacchi, 'Esperienze minori della mimesi', 1103-08; Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, pp. 138-84; and Giuseppina Stella Galbiati, *Un poeta satirico del Cinquecento: Giovanni Agostino Caccia* (Pisa: Giardini, 1991).

³⁵ See Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, p. 131.

³⁶ On Bentivoglio see Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, pp. 125-38; and Antonio Corsaro, 'Ercole Bentivoglio e la satira cinquecentesca', in *Studi di filologia e critica offerti dagli allievi a Lanfranco Caretti* (Rome: Salerno, 1985), pp. 119-47. For the text of Bentivoglio's *Satire* see Ercole Bentivoglio, *Satire*, ed. by Antonio Corsaro (Ferrara: Deputazione Provinciale di Storia patria, 1987).

³⁷ Ercole Bentivoglio, *Le Satire, e altre rime piacevoli* (Venice: Giolito, 1546).

passage on the same topic, *Sat.* I, 6, 110-129.³⁸

During the second half of the Cinquecento the satirical genre became less popular among Italian authors. It is true that new satires were composed, such as those by Girolamo de' Domini (c. 1512 – c. 1555), Girolamo Fenaruolo (c. 1500 – c. 1550), Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara (1517-c. 1572), Gandolfo Porrini (c. 1510 – c. 1565), Francesco Sansovino (1521-1586), and Ludovico Paterno (1533-1559), but the few texts they wrote (often no more than one per poet) did not appear as new corpus of vernacular *Sermones*, but as separate elements published together with previous compositions (such as those by Ariosto, Alamanni, and Bentivoglio) in the two anthologies of satirical verses printed during the 1560s.³⁹ As a consequence of this fact, which progressively made the short collections of single authors lose any internal coherence, satire generally became mannered poetry with a minor level of poetical efficacy. This development is particularly evident in Lodovico Dolce's satire, included in Sansovino 1560 anthology. Despite Dolce's deep familiarity with Horace's hexametric texts, which he first translated in Italian, his satirical poem is structured as a mere praise of Bentivoglio's compositions in which he parenthetically inserts pretentious and affected disapproval of the corruption of modern times without deriving anything from the Latin author. Like Dolce, also the other poets mentioned wrote texts lacking satirical sharpness, and if they followed a model, this

³⁸ On the two satires see Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, pp. 132-35.

³⁹ The two satirical anthologies were: *Sette libri di Satire*, ed. by Francesco Sansovino (Venice: Sansovino, 1560); and *Satire di cinque poeti illustri di nuovo raccolte e poste a luce*, ed. by Ludovico Paterno (Venice: Valvassori, 1565). The first work collected the texts by Ariosto, Bentivoglio, Alamanni, Nelli, Vinciguerra, Sansovino, Domini, Feraruolo, and Anguillara, while the second those by Ariosto, Sansovino, Bentivoglio, Alamanni, and Paterno. On the two satirical anthologies see Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, pp. 185-89. The satirical texts by Porrini are still in manuscript form (see Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, p. 190 n. 7).

was not that of Horace, but the one offered either by a softened Berni, or Juvenal.⁴⁰ Both the progressive appearance of mannered satirical texts and the choice not to follow the hexametrical example of Horace are certainly linked to Italy's new political, cultural, and religious context in the second half of the sixteenth century, primarily because of the new decrees of the Counter-Reformation. In a world in which hierarchy was the new indisputable basis of the social, religious, and political order, where sins needed to be firmly reprehended, and there was not much space for debate, a genre like the satire was not particularly appreciated. Moreover, its Horatian modulation, which implied constant discussion, a relationship among equals between the poet and the powerful figures he mocks, as well as a general absence of firm condemnation of vices, could no longer be safely practiced.

Before dealing with other authors who derived new features and modes from Horace's texts, it is worth lingering a bit longer on Alamanni. Indeed Horace provides a model not just for his satirical compositions, but also for his lyrical texts. In fact, in his verses, which appear as a uniform lyrical collection in the first volume of his *Opere toscane*, Alamanni modulates many Horatian themes in Petrarchan metrical structures.⁴¹ There is not only a general affinity of interests and feelings between Horace and Alamanni that invites the latter to deal frequently in his poems with topics particularly dear to Horace (e.g., the praise or the reproach of fortune, or the meditation on the passage of time), but Alamanni derives from the Latin author also other textual and thematic memories. Indeed, on several occasions Alamanni deduces from Horace a specific lyrical pattern or a new theme, which he transforms

⁴⁰ See Sacchi, 'Esperienze minori della mimesi', 1107-08.

⁴¹ On Alamanni's lyrical production see Tomasi, 'La poésie italienne à la cour de François I^{er}'; and Id., "L'amata patria", i "dolci occhi" e il "gran gallico Re".

into a functional element for his book of rhymes. An example is the sonnet ‘Occhi miei lassi omai più non piangete’, where the poet deals with the ‘ria fortuna’ that prevents him from seeing his beloved Flora.⁴² As he tries to put an end to his sorrow, Alamanni reflects that his unhappy condition cannot but change in the future since everything on earth is mutable.⁴³ The content and the poetical images of this self-consolation are modelled on an ode by Horace, *Carm.* II, 9. But if in the *carmen* the Latin poet tries to comfort his friend Valgius for a recent loss, Alamanni bends the structure and features of his classical model to his personal situation. He thus enriches his poem with a learned reminiscence, whose function is not simply that of embellishing the text, but also of giving the composition a double meaning: on the one hand, Alamanni’s grief for the absence of his mistress is made more intense due to the mourning tone to which the Horatian structure is implicitly linked because of the Latin dedicatee’s situation; on the other hand, Alamanni’s consolatory words are coloured with more solemn tonality through the reference to the Horatian *carmen*. A similar modulation of Horatian patterns according to personal notes is present in other two sonnets, ‘Hor, magnanimo re, le piagge intorno’ and ‘Di spiaggia in spiaggia e d’uno in altro monte’. In both compositions Alamanni describes a horrid winter landscape, in which dangers and threats lurk, through which he states he could pass without any fear thanks to the protection the French king offers him. Both this mode and these images derive from Horace’s *Carm.* I, 22, in which the poet affirms that he can face any difficulty and safely traverse any hostile land, through the protection

⁴² On Alamanni’s love affair with Flora see Domenico Chiodo and Rossana Sodano, ‘Tra Cinzia e Flora. L’enigma del doppio amore nel canzoniere elegiaco dell’Alamanni’, in Id. *Le muse sediziose. Un volto ignorato del petrarchismo* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2012), pp. 7-60.

⁴³ ‘Sempre si volge il ciel, ne ferme o quete / veggian le stele mai, ne Sole o Luna, / hora ha ’l mondo di chiaro, hor notte bruna, / hor caldo, hor gielo, hor lunghe piogge, hor sete. // Ogni cosa mortal cangia suo stato’ (ll. 5-9).

offered by his virtue and the Muses. These two poems by Alamanni are particularly interesting not only because they demonstrate his intention to modulate a Horatian pattern in an encomiastic perspective (Alamanni clearly wishes to exalt his royal patron whose virtues he likens to those of Horace's divine protectors), but also because, through the shift from the Muses' protection to that of the king, the poems prove Alamanni's clever adaptation of his model so as not to make them appear too close to a previous illustrious imitator of the ode I, 22, i.e. Petrarch, who modelled three of his sonnets on this *carmen* (*Rvf.* 145, 159 and 176).

Just as in Alamanni's satires, where the main Juvenalian model is combined with many Horatian memories, Alamanni's hymns, another collection of poems he wrote imitating classical metres in order to innovate Italian literary forms, pay tribute to Horace's odes, although they are composed mainly following Pindar's example.⁴⁴ The structure of Alamanni's hymns reproduces in its scheme of three sections (defined *ballata*, *contro ballata*, and *stanza*) the three movements of Pindaric texts (strophe, anti-strophe, and epode); sometimes, however (at least in two texts out of eight), the theme of the hymns is derived from the Horatian corpus. Hymn 6, 'Santa compagna antica', is a text dedicated to the poet's lyre, with forms and images drawn from *Carm.* I, 32, before transforming itself into a praise of the author's beloved.

⁴⁴ Alamanni's Pindaric compositions as well as those by Trissino (first formulated in the lyrical choruses of his tragedy *Sofonisba* [published in 1524, but composed since 1513], and then in some texts of his *Rime* [first printed in 1520 and then in an extended version in 1529]) are the first lyrical texts that follow in their structures the model of the Pindaric ode, which spread out since Aldo Manuzio first published Pindar's works in 1513 (Venice: Aldo Manuzio). In the Pindaric odes the Petrarchan strophe is reorganized into three separate sections (strophe, antistrophe, and epode, according to Greek terminology). On the Pindaric ode in Italian literature see Pietro Beltrami, *La metrica italiana* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1991), pp. 134 and 347-51. Angelo Sommariva, *La lirica pindareggiante in Italia da Orazio a Chiabrera* (Genoa: Tipografia Della Gioventù, 1904); and Edward Williamson, 'Form and Content in the Development of the Italian Renaissance Ode', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 65.4 (1950), 550-67 are also still helpful.

Hymn 8, ‘Che giova oro e terreno?’, in turn, deals with two subjects particularly important in Horace’s work: the *meditatio mortis* and the correlated praise of poetry as the unique art that confers immortality. Though Alamanni makes no precise reference either to Horatian meditative texts on human mortal fate (such as *Carm.* II, 3, or II, 14), or to those odes devoted to the immortalizing power of poetry (such as *Carm.* II, 20 or III, 30), Alamanni’s choice of closing his hymnographic section by exalting the victory of lyrical verse over death and oblivion, exactly as Horace did in book 2 and 3 of his *Odes*, demonstrates the importance of Horace in the evolution of the Italian author’s poetical meditation. Furthermore, it is worth noting that Horace represents not only a source from which Alamanni derives specific themes, but also a rhetorical model in terms of lyrical structure. In his fifth Hymn, ‘Come la voglia è ingorda’, where the author states that he will praise the aged Larcaro,⁴⁵ Alamanni reproduces the *priamel* pattern⁴⁶ of *Carm.* I, 1 and I, 7.

Alamanni is not the only Italian author who imitated Horace in his satirical works and in his lyrics. It is worth briefly mentioning here that Ariosto imitated Horace in his satirical and lyrical texts. Indeed Ariosto’s lyrical production owes something to the Latin poet. Although Ariosto clearly follows the example of Petrarch in terms of language and metrics, his rhymes also demonstrate the influence

⁴⁵ ‘Canteran gli altri il forte / del sommo Giove figlio [...] / altri verrà che dica / della terrestre prole / il periglioso assalto / [...] Io cantar oggi voglio / del buon Larcaro antico’ (II. 20-21, 26-27, 54-55).

⁴⁶ The *priamel* pattern is a rhetorical structure often employed by Horace in his works and, specifically, in prominent texts, such as the opening ode of his first book of the *Carmina*. The trope consists of listing a series of elements explicitly presented as opposed to what the poet wishes to say, before the author says it (e.g., the poet will not deal either with A, or B, or C, but he will deal with D). For a general overview of the phenomenon in the ancient literature see William H. Race, *The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boethius* (Leiden: Brill, 1982). For the Horatian use of the *priamel* see Gian Franco Gianotti, ‘Priamel’, in *EO*, II, 726-27. See also Henry D. Jocelyn, ‘*Carm.* I, 12 and the Notion of “Pindarising” Horace’, *Sileno*, 19 (1993), 101-29; and Alessandra Minarini, ‘*Lucidus ordo*’. *L’architettura della lirica oraziana (libri I-III)* (Bologna: Patron, 1989).

of other models, mainly classical Augustan poetical authors, including Horace.⁴⁷ Among several poems that modulate themes and images drawn from Virgil, Ovid, and Propertius, there is a set of poems whose main source can be identified in Horace's works.⁴⁸ In these texts Ariosto wittily alludes to Horatian modes without mimicking them. On the contrary, he derives from the Latin poet a precise (and quite recognizable) structure according to which he forms his composition, suggesting to learned readers that he has employed a classical subtext, but, at the same time, uses it according to his own poetic aims, coherent with his lyrical discourse. An example is the *canzone*, which opens his posthumous book of verses (1546),⁴⁹ 'Non so s'io potrò ben chiudere in rima', a text in which the author recalls his falling in love with his beloved, Alessandra Benucci. In the second strophe of the text, after having referred to love-victories that poets immortalized through their works in the past, Ariosto declares his intention to devote all his efforts to celebrating his defeat by love, proudly stating that he can be considered one of the first to attempt this goal. The topic is maybe highly innovative (at least presented in these terms), even though it does not overstep the boundaries of Petrarchism, but its structure is borrowed from

⁴⁷ On Ariosto's *Rime* there is a rich bibliography. Among the several works, see Lanfranco Caretti, 'Ariosto', in Id., *Ariosto e Tasso* (Turin: Einaudi, 1961), pp. 13-51; Cesare Segre, 'La poesia dell'Ariosto', in Id., *Esperienze ariostesche* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1966), pp. 9-28; Emilio Bigi, 'Petrarchismo ariostesco', in *Dal Petrarca al Leopardi*, ed. by Emilio Bigi (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1954), pp. 47-76; Id., 'Aspetti stilistici e metrici delle *Rime* dell'Ariosto', *Notiziario culturale italiano*, 15.3 (1974), 69-75; Id., 'Le liriche volgari dell'Ariosto', in *Poesia latina e volgare nel Rinascimento italiano*, ed. by Emilio Bigi (Naples: Morano, 1989), pp. 189-227; Walter Binni, 'Le liriche e l'esercizio stilistico', in Id., *Metodo e poesia di Ludovico Ariosto*, pp. 1-24; Roberto Fedi, 'Preistoria del canzoniere: le *Rime* di Ludovico Ariosto', in *La memoria della poesia. Canzonieri lirici e libri di rime nel Rinascimento*, ed. by Roberto Fedi (Rome: Salerno, 1990), pp. 83-115; and Giuseppe Sangirardi, 'Le *Rime*: diario pubblico e lirica di società', in Id., *Ludovico Ariosto* (Florence: Le Monnier, 2006), pp. 56-67. Two older works are still relevant: Giuseppe Fatini, 'Su la fortuna e l'autenticità delle liriche di Ludovico Ariosto', *GSLI*, 22-23 (1924), 133-296; and Id., 'Le *Rime* di Ludovico Ariosto', *GSLI*, 25 (1934), 1-254.

⁴⁸ On some Latin references of Ariosto's *Rime* see Ludovico Ariosto, *Rime*, ed. by Stefano Bianchi (Milan: BUR, 1992), *passim*.

⁴⁹ Ariosto's *Rime* were published posthumously in 1546: Ludovico Ariosto, *Le Rime*, ed. by Jacopo Coppa (Venice: [n. pub.], 1546).

a Horatian ode. Ariosto's second *stanza*, in fact, echoes the *priamel* form of *Carm.* I, 1, since the opposition between other writers singing their victories⁵⁰ and the poet satisfied and honoured to commemorate his love defeat⁵¹ reproduces that of the Horatian *carmen* between those glad to immortalize the Olympic victors with their songs⁵² and Horace, who more modestly is satisfied to celebrate the dances of nymphs and satyrs.⁵³ The Horatian textual memory does not simply embellish the *canzone*, but it plays an important role, because it makes even more explicit the opposition between other writers and Ariosto, whose poetical claim is made more evident and noble thanks to its Horatian echoes.

Other employments of Horatian patterns demonstrate Ariosto's intention to enrich the range of traditional Petrarchan modes. The theme of the praise of the poet's beloved, one of the most conventional features not only of Petrarch's poetry but of the whole Italian lyrical tradition, is given new life by Ariosto's re-modulation in eulogistic terms of a Horatian poetic scheme. The structure of *Carm.* I, 7,⁵⁴ where Horace presents himself as the poet of modest topics in explicit opposition to those who sing magnificent subjects, is reproduced by Ariosto in sonnet 15, 'Altri loderà il viso, altri le chiome', where the Horatian pattern is employed to celebrate the beauties of Ariosto's beloved. Indeed, Ariosto's uses of Horace in his book of verses are not mere poetical embellishments, but skilful allusions, able to renew particular themes or to underline the message of specific lyrical passages.

⁵⁰ 'Le sue vittorie ha fatto illustri alcuno' (l. 12).

⁵¹ 'Sol celebrar voglio io / il dì che andai prigion ferito a morte' (ll. 18-19).

⁵² Hor. *Carm.* I, 1, 3-4, 'sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum / collegisse iuvat' (some are delighted by showers of dust, olympic dust, over their chariots).

⁵³ Hor. *Carm.* I, 1, 29-32, 'me [...] nympharumque leves cum satyris chori / secernunt populo' (the gathering of light nymphs and satyrs draws me from the throng).

⁵⁴ Hor. *Carm.* I, 7, 1 and 12, 'Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen' vs. 'me [...] domus Albuneae' (Other poets will celebrate the famous Rhodes or Mytilene [while] I am satisfied with Albunea's house).

4.2 VERNACULAR ODES

Alamanni's hymns, as a section of his *Opere toscane*, are part of one of the most complex initiatives to develop new literary forms and contents elaborated in the first half of the sixteenth century. In a historical moment like the second and the third decades of the Cinquecento, when Italian courtly poetry was already perceived by Italian authors as suffocating and eroded, and the new literary proposals articulated by Cardinal Bembo, based on the strict reuse of Petrarchan language and modes, were not yet completely formulated, some Italian poets looked back to classical antiquity (and specifically to the works composed by Horace, Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid, and Statius) to find both new inspiration for their poetry and new models to follow. What united those who proposed new modes and trends for vernacular literature and those who opposed, at various levels, Bembo's positions (such as Alamanni and Giovan Giorgio Trissino), was the necessity to re-create Italian poetry on the model of Latin and Greek tradition, and to do so without any limitation of genres; above all, this meant not giving pride of place to lyrical poetry.⁵⁵

Another author who played a key role in this process of renovation of Italian poetical forms was Bernardo Tasso (1493-1569).⁵⁶ A famous courtier, secretary first to the Prince of Sanseverino, and then diplomat at the courts of Rome, Ferrara, and Mantua, Tasso was best known for his epic poem *Amadigi* and his prose epistles, but

⁵⁵ The bibliography on this topic is very rich. I mention only a few of the most important critical works: Giancarlo Mazzacurati, *Misure del classicismo rinascimentale* (Naples: Liguori, 1967); Giuseppe Izzi, 'Petrarchismo', in *Dizionario critico della Letteratura Italiana*, ed. by Vittore Branca, 4 vols (Turin: UTET, 1974), III, 40-41; Guglielmo Gorni, 'Per una storia del petrarchismo metrico in Italia', *Studi Petrarqueschi*, 4 (1987), 219-28; Amedeo Quondam, *Il naso di laura. Lingua e poesia lirica nella tradizione del classicismo* (Modena: Panini, 1991); and Remo Cesarini, 'La lirica', in *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, VII.1, 663-731.

⁵⁶ See Edward Williamson, *Bernardo Tasso* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1951). For a short biographical profile see Domenico Chiodo, 'Biografia', in *Bernardo Tasso, Rime*, ed. by Domenico Chiodo, 2 vols (Turin: RES, 1995), II, 409-15.

he also wrote important collections of lyrical verses, which not only increased his literary fame, but also demonstrated his intention to innovate on the Italian lyrical scene.⁵⁷ As mentioned above, the early decades of the Cinquecento were a particularly multifaceted period of Italian literary history, in which not only new poetical initiatives (such as Alamanni and Trissino's Pindaric vernacular hymns)⁵⁸ were advanced to renew Italian poetry, but also new tendencies became visible even within the boundaries of Bembian Petrarchism. In this field, on the one hand, following the example of Bembo's canzone 'Alma cortese', many authors were increasingly inclined to compose their *canzoni* according to the modes of *gravitas*, expressing solemn matters in long sentences and giving voice to the narrative and digressive features of the *canzone* form; on the other hand, deriving from another Bembian precedent, the *canzone* 'Non si vedrà giammai' (*Asolani*, II, 6), poets composed their texts with ever shorter strophes, employing a constantly increasing number of *settenari*.⁵⁹

The evolution of this second trend brought about the creation of the *ode-canzonetta* form in the late second half of the century.⁶⁰ Within this varied, intricate,

⁵⁷ His book of rhymes can be integrally read in Tasso, *Rime*, ed. by Chiodo. On the history of the lyrical work see the 'Nota al testo' that Domenico Chiodo postponed to Tasso's *Rime* (I, 413-30, and II, 417-40). On his poetical production see Giorgio Cerboni Baiardi, *La lirica di Bernardo Tasso* (Urbino: Argalia, 1966); Bartolo Tommaso Sozzi, 'Bernardo Tasso', in *La letteratura italiana. I minori*, 4 vols (Milan: Marzorati, 1961), II, 1067-83; and Renzo Cremante, 'Appunti sulle rime di Bernardo Tasso', in *Per Cesare Bozzetti. Studi di letteratura e filologia italiana* (Milan: Fondazione Mondadori, 1996), pp. 393-407.

⁵⁸ On Trissino's hymns, see Williamson, 'Form and Content', p. 556; and Amedeo Quondam, 'Introduzione', in Giovan Giorgio Trissino, *Rime 1529*, ed. by Amedeo Quondam (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1981), pp. 1-65.

⁵⁹ On the so-called 'bifrontismo' (the two-faced aspect) of the Italian lyrical long form par excellence, the *canzone*, see Gaia Guidolin, *La canzone nel primo Cinquecento* (Lucca: Pacini Fazzi, 2010); and Guglielmo Gorni, 'Ragioni metriche della canzone, tra filologia e storia', in *Studi di filologia e letteratura italiana offerti a Carlo Dionisotti* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1973), pp. 15-24. On the *gravitas* of the Italian sixteenth-century *canzone* see Andrea Afrifo, *Teoria e prassi della 'gravitas' nel Cinquecento* (Florence: Cesati, 2001).

⁶⁰ See Beltrami, *Metrica italiana*, pp. 364-71.

and manifold literary scene, Tasso developed a new form of lyrical strophe, which theoretically was midway between the extreme proposals by Alamanni and Trissino and the new schemes created by contemporary Petrarchist poets.⁶¹ Tasso took Horace's odes as his main model, but, as he explicitly states in the preface to his *Inni et Ode*, he wished to imitate the works of Horace and other classical lyrical poets only in terms of themes, modes, rhetorical features, and structures, not in terms of metrics.⁶² His rhymes, writes Tasso, are 'fatti ad imitazione de' buoni poeti Greci e Latini, non quanto al verso, il quale in questa nostra italiana favella è impossibile d'imitare, ma ne l'invenzione, ne l'ordine e ne le figure del parlare'.⁶³ The intention, then, to follow a different model from Petrarch was evident, but Tasso did not go to the extremes reached by Alamanni or Trissino, since he did not refuse to follow Bembo's example in terms of language and style. This can be seen not only in the other poems he collected in his books of rhymes, whose forms and themes were rigorously modulated in accordance to Bembo's Petrarchan rules, but also in the new metrical form he invented and which he called 'ode'. From a structural point of view, it is possible to consider Tasso's new lyrical compositions as a specific evolution of the trend of the sixteenth-century *canzone*, which derived short stanzas and the use of *settenario* from Bembo's text 'Non si vedrà giammai'. Obviously, Tasso's proposal had a high degree of originality, even though some scholars speculate that the lyrical Latin works of a contemporary of Tasso, the poet Marcantonio Flaminio (whose

⁶¹ On Tasso's lyrical ode, see Giosuè Carducci, 'Dello svolgimento dell'ode in Italia', in Id., *Prose. 1859-1903* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1963), pp. 1387-1459 (pp. 1400-05); and Williamson, 'Form and Content', pp. 559-65.

⁶² On Tasso's relation with Horace see Riccardo Scrivano, 'Tasso, Bernardo', in *EO*, III, 480-81.

⁶³ Tasso, *Rime*, ed. Chiodo, II, 247.

Horatian *Hymni* were published in 1529), may have contributed to stimulate the author to convert the Horatian odes into vernacular form.⁶⁴

Beginning in the 1520s, Tasso started to experiment with new compositions by varying the pattern and scheme of the Petrarchan *canzone*. Tasso's first odes had already been included in the first book of rhymes he published in 1530 as *Libro primo de gli Amori di Bernardo Tasso*, a title that alluded to classical models (such as Ovid, author of the elegiac collection *Amores*).⁶⁵ In this first *Canzoniere* Tasso published three texts that he defined as odes.⁶⁶ The structure of two of these poems was not dissimilar from the traditional scheme of the *canzone*. The strophes of ode 1, 'Ecco che 'n oriente', and those of ode 3, 'Pon freno, Musa, a quel sì lungo pianto', are composed of ten and seven lines respectively, thus only slightly fewer than the average number for common Petrarchist *canzoni*. What is partially unusual is the number of *settenari* per strophe (seven out of ten in the first case, and five out of seven in the second) and the reduction of the rhymes in each stanza (four in ode 1, and three in ode 3). Tasso tried a more audacious experiment with the second ode he introduced in his first lyrical collection, 'Cada dal puro cielo', whose strophes are surprisingly composed of only five lines with only one hendecasyllable per stanza. On the basis of these three simple innovations (the reduction of number of lines per strophe, the larger number of *settenari* and fewer of rhymes per stanza) Tasso contributed to the renewal of Italian poetry.

⁶⁴ See Fortunato Pintor, 'Delle liriche di Bernardo Tasso', in *Annali della Reale Scuola Normale superiore di Pisa*, 14 (1900), 1-201 (pp. 156-70); and Simone Albonico, *Il ruginoso stile. Poeti e poesia in volgare a Milano nella prima metà del Cinquecento* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1990), p. 42 n. 75 and p. 43.

⁶⁵ *Libro primo de gli Amori di Bernardo Tasso* (Venice: da Stabbio, 1531).

⁶⁶ These three texts are: *Ecco che 'n oriente*; *Cada dal puro Cielo*; and *Pon freno, Musa, a quel sì lungo pianto*.

New forms of odes appeared in Tasso's second book of verses, published in 1534.⁶⁷ On the one hand, Tasso composed a poem whose metrical features were again not distant from those of a traditional *canzone* ('Debb'io por in oblio' is, in fact, an ode with strophes of nine lines, with only two hendecasyllables per stanza); on the other hand, he also continued on the path he had set out on when he composed his first ode with five-line stanzas. Eight out the new nine odes employ this scheme. However, these odes display a certain compositional freedom: the number of rhymes is raised (from two to four) and that of hendecasyllables constantly altered (going from a minimum of one – no strophe is exclusively composed by *settenari* – to a maximum of four). The 1534 *Canzoniere* presents another important novelty. In this work Tasso decided to give a higher relevance to his new lyrical texts, which he collected (i.e. the new nine odes he composed along with the previous three he wrote) in a separate section of the book; he entitled the section *Inni et Ode*. Surprisingly, in his third book of rhymes, *Libro terzo de gli Amori di Bernardo Tasso* (Venice: Stagnino, 1537), the three new odes the author composed were printed among the other poems, while only in the fourth book (1555) did he re-introduce a separate series of odes.

During the twenty years that separated the publication of the third book of his *Canzoniere* from that of the fourth,⁶⁸ Tasso intensively devoted himself to his new lyrical form he invented. He composed eighteen new poems, whose forms demonstrate the new metrical solutions Tasso had introduced to better imitate his classical model. If the three odes of the 1537 collection were all composed of stanzas

⁶⁷ *De gli Amori di Bernardo Tasso* (Venice: da Stabbio, 1534).

⁶⁸ *I tre libri de gli Amori di Messer Bernardo Tasso. Ai quali nuovamente dal proprio autore s'è aggiunto il quarto libro, per adietro non più stampato* (Venice: Giolito, 1555).

of five lines with two or three hendecasyllables each, the eighteen new texts of Tasso's fourth book of rhymes display new forms of experimentation. In just one case, probably later considered as unsatisfactory (it was never re-employed), the author wrote an ode with strophes of seven lines ('Ecco che 'l vago fiore'), while in all the other texts he employed stanzas of five or six verses, with again a remarkable freedom in the number of *settenari*. The number of rhymes per strophe, instead, started to be fixed: two rhymes in those strophes with five lines, and three for those with six lines.

Tasso also started to experiment much more freely with the use of the inter-strophe enjambement. Up to that moment he had looked for a precise coincidence between the stanzas' metric and syntactic structures, whereas from the 1540s he started to follow the example of classical authors also in terms of the syntactic complexity of the sentences, which he began to extend over many strophes. This rhetorical feature is even more evident in Tasso's fifth book of rhymes, which appeared in 1560 and collected his entire poetical production.⁶⁹ The odes of this volume, which were kept in their own section (again entitled *Inni et Ode*), were fifty-five (three texts were drawn from the first *Canzoniere*, nine from the second, three from the third, eighteen from the fourth, two from those four odes that Tasso wanted to include in his fourth volume, but which were excluded because of their political content, considered inappropriate by the Venetian censors; and twenty new texts). The last odes Tasso composed were characterized by a large employment of inter-strophe enjambements, up to the point that a sentence could spread over nine or ten

⁶⁹ *Rime di Messer Bernardo Tasso divise in cinque libri nuovamente stampate [...]. Salmi [...]. Ode [...]* (Venice: Giolito, 1560).

stanzas.⁷⁰ These long syntactic structures could be considered a sort of counterbalance, in terms of modulation and rhetoric liberty, to the new, almost fixed, metrical pattern the new texts displayed. In fact, nineteen out of the twenty new odes have stanzas of five lines, with only two rhymes and two or three hendecasyllables. After so many attempts, Tasso must have considered this structure the most appropriate one to be employed in vernacular odes. It was sufficiently close to the syntactic versatility and agility of the Horatian tetrastic strophes, but it was not as *cantabile* (a characteristic which Tasso always tried to avoid) as the Italian quatrain. The limited number of hendecasyllables made the new strophe livelier, but the author cautiously abstained from employing only *settenari*, since, again, the risk was that of an excess of *cantabilità*. For the same reason, Tasso avoided having numerous rhymes. A possible solution might have been to omit them altogether, but Tasso never seemed to consider this metrical feature as optional. He therefore used an odd number of rhymes, creating two rhymed words opposed to three others. This solution evidently fitted Tasso's poetical purposes, and he adopted it consistently. However, the author did not completely stop using the ode formed by six lines with three rhymes, since he largely employed this structure in the religious odes he wrote between 1557 and 1560 and which he included in his last book of rhymes as a detached section, entitled *Ode sacre o Salmi*. In this corpus of thirty texts he dealt exclusively with Christian subjects, and probably considered the six-line strophe, with its higher level of suavity and lyricism, more appropriate to this matter.

If the final metrical scheme of Tasso's vernacular ode had characteristics and modes that imitated the Horatian strophes, Tasso also derived and employed in his

⁷⁰ On Tasso's employment of enjambement, see Barbara Spaggiari, 'L'"enjambement" di Bernardo Tasso', *SFI*, 51 (1993), 111-39.

rhymes many other Horatian stylistic, rhetorical, and thematic features. He tried to imitate Horace's style not only through the use of long sentences, but also by constantly employing audacious hyperbole, sudden changes of subject, suspended phrases, obscure connectives, artful similes and metaphors. Some of these traits are mentioned by Tasso himself as characteristics of his own odes 'a la Horatiana' in a letter he sent to Girolamo Della Rovere on 27 October 1553: 'Io passo tal'hora con la clausula lunga d'una stantia ne l'altra; tal'hora la faccio breve come meglio mi pare, faccio tal'hora il costrutto pieno d'una lucida oscurità, come fa anchor Horatio; a le volte esco de la materia principiata con la digressione, et poi ritorno, a le volte finisco ne la digressione; ad imitation de boni poeti lirici'.⁷¹

Tasso also derived from the Latin lyricist many topics he articulated in a personal form, taking Horace as a starting point and then not making reference to him simply as an ornament but also as a key element of his poetical discourse. Horace is, for example, the subtext of ode 4, 'Non sempre il cielo irato', where Tasso produces, on the basis of *Carm.* II, 9, a *consolatio* for the Marchesana of Pescara, who has lost her husband. Tasso precisely follows the pattern of the Latin text, but the innovations he makes to the Horatian ode to make it fit to his addressee's situation and the different prominence he gives to the various elements of the poem (for example, the single strophe in Horace to depict the dedicatee's lost beloved become two in the new text) confirm Tasso's intention to make a clear reference to his model, but, at the same time, to compose a new poem, which is vivified by the classical source and its eloquent words. Other allusions to the same Horatian pattern (the 'non semper' formula) are present in ode 24, 'Freme talora il tempestoso Egeo',

⁷¹ 'Lettera al Signor Girolamo Da La Rovere', in Bernardo Tasso, *Lettere. Ristampa anastatica dell'edizione Giolito 1560*, ed. by Adriana Chemello, 2 vols (Ferrara: Arnaldo Forni, 2002), II, 114-15.

and ode 43, ‘Benché sia irato, il mar talor s’acqueta’. This latter poem is a hymn to Fortune that thematically alludes to Horace’s *Carm.* I, 35. Another Horatian emblematic structural mode, the *priamel* form, is employed by Tasso in ode 44, ‘Or che la calda state’. Along with the re-use of these syntactic patterns, he modulates other important Horatian elements in his compositions. He structures his ode 29, ‘Cacciate, o fanciulletti’, according to the forms of the ode to Thaliarcus (*Carm.* I, 9). Tasso omits Horace’s famous beginning, which refers to the snowy mount Soracte, and he mainly focuses on the Latin poet’s core invitation to cast away any concern as winter-time approaches and to devote oneself to happy thoughts and festive activities. A similar thematic memory is present in ode 37, ‘Già il freddo orrido verno’. Before praising the peaceful activities the *otium* allows for, Tasso evokes in this latter text the atmosphere depicted by Horace in *Carm.* IV, 7, as he describes the returning spring.⁷² Tasso decides not to conclude his composition, as the Latin poet, with a meditation on the inevitability of death, contrasted with the eternal rebirth of seasons, but instead with an invitation addressed to his friend Capilupi, the dedicatee of the text, to play his lyre and sing of his master’s deeds. In this case, Tasso not only refers to a single Horatian text, but he substitutes Horace’s concluding reflections of *Carm.* IV, 7 (which he closely follows for the first nine stanzas of his ode) with other highly Horatian elements; indeed, poetic singing and the celebration of the emperor (in this case, Capilupi’s master) are two constitutive elements of the Horatian *locus amoenus*, and this landscape itself is evoked in the first strophes of the vernacular ode. Tasso then freely associates the initial praise of

⁷² ‘Già il freddo orrido verno / che versava ad ognor grandine e gelo, / che ricopriva il cielo / d’un nembo umido eterno / e facea l’aere chiaro oscuro inferno, // se ’n fugge, e seco mena / le nevi, i ghiacci e i giorni brevi e rei / sovra i monti Rifei, / ove di rabbia piena / l’Orsa agghiaccia del ciel l’onda e l’arena’ (ll. 1-10).

the returning spring of *Carm.* IV, 7 in the second half of his composition with another reference to the Latin poet, whose images and modes are skilfully assimilated and then recomposed by the Italian author.

An analogous invitation to sing of the victories of his dedicatee, in this case King Henry II of France, is presented in ode 44, 'Or che la calda state'. The beauties of the summer season, whose praise opens the poem, are presented as the perfect counterpart to the brilliant deeds of the sovereign, considered as the only proper topic to be sung of by the poet in the serene atmosphere in which he finds himself. Also in this case two Horatian features, the celebration of the *locus amoenus*⁷³ and the decision to commemorate the addressee's victories, contribute to the encomiastic purpose of Tasso's composition. The poet offers his dedicatee a more solemn (even though implicit) compliment since his deeds are discreetly paralleled to those of Augustus through the Horatian subtext.

Similarly (and always thanks to the Horatian allusions), Tasso pays a sincere and, at the same time, grandiose homage to the Cardinal of Tournon. In his ode 53, 'Il cavo e saldo pino', the author wishes his illustrious friend a safe voyage and he modulates his prayer through the forms and images of *Carm.* I, 3, the *propemptikon* Horace addressed to Virgil when he left Rome to go to Athens.⁷⁴ Exactly as in Horace's ode, Tasso's text begins as a simple plea to God to protect his addressee's voyage, but then develops into an invective against Jason, the first man who sailed the sea, who condemned those who have followed his endeavour to suffer the deadly risks of sailing. Tasso's ode could simply be admired as a display of poetical skill

⁷³ On the Horatian *locus amoenus* see Graziana Brescia, 'Locus amoenus', in *EO*, II, 699-701.

⁷⁴ On Horace's *propemptikon* poem see Paolo Fedeli, 'Propemptikon', in *EO*, II, 732-34.

thanks to the elegant employment of the modes of the *propemptikon* ode rendered in vernacular verses. However, Tasso's composition also reveals another important use of Horace. As mentioned above, the Latin model to which Tasso's ode makes reference could be considered a way for the poet to convey new implicit meanings to his vernacular compositions. In this case too one can see that the reference to Virgil's voyage is the implicit subtext of the journey of the Cardinal, whose status, through this reference, is thus associated with that of the Latin epic poet, whose relationship to Tasso is veined with the same tonalities of delicate friendship as existed between Horace and his friend.

A final element that points to the significance of the Horatian lesson for Tasso can be identified in two other odes, where allusion to Horace is employed not to celebrate important dedicatees or the poet's beloved, but to commend the poet and his lyrical work as a whole. In ode 50, 'Se la volubil Dea', in fact, Tasso deals with the triumph of poetry (and of his own poetry, above all) over time, a subject particularly dear to Horace's poetics. This commendation is structured on the pattern and features of *Carm.* III, 30, from which the Italian author also draws essential images, such as the eternal fate of the lyric art that surpasses even that of the pyramids.

Non ha più chiara tromba
né più sonora questa gloria umana,
il cui suon da la Tana
sin a l'Ebro rimbomba,
né più veloci penne la colomba,

di quel ch'abbiano i chiari
e colti versi de' lodati inchiostri:
l'oro, le perle e gli ostri
al mondo oggi sì cari
non ci fan schermo contra gli anni avari;

le Piramidi illustri,

per cui altiera andò Roma et Egitto,
contra del tempo invitto
si difeser più lustri,
e tant'altre opre di martelli industri;

da le machine al fine
del grand'impeto suo converse in polve,
lo spietato l'involge,
ancor che adamantine,
ad una ad una ne le sue rovine.

Solo i carmi immortale
et eterno fan l'uom: per questi Achille
vivrà mille anni e mille
mal grado de lo strale
de la Parca spietata e micidiale (ll. 31-55).

Tasso also shows interest in the other *carmen* that Horace wrote on the same topic, *Carm.* II, 20, and he makes of this poem the subtext of another of his vernacular odes, 'Saggio e dotto cultore' (ode 35), dedicated to Monseigneur de Saint-Gelais. The Horatian work, with its parallel between the poet and a singing swan, is the reference point for the central verses of Tasso's text.⁷⁵ In lines 55-65 of the poem, as well as in those that follow them, the author proudly lists his previous poetical works.⁷⁶ The poet's pleased self-consciousness of the subjects about which he sang (made explicit, for example, in *Carm.* I, 6, 17-20), as well as the image of the poet's compositions circulating throughout the world (following *Carm.* II, 20, 13-20 and adapted by Tasso in ll. 71-75 of his text) are specific allusions to the Horatian style. The fact these two subjects, both key elements of Horace's poetics, are intertwined here by Tasso with the theme of the eternity of poetry, another central component of the Horace's reflection on his lyrical practice, bears witness to the high

⁷⁵ 'Io, mentre aura soave / a' miei giusti desii destra e fedele / spirava ne le vele / de la picciola nave / di tutti i miei piacer ripiena e grave, // quasi canoro cigno / lungo le vaghe sponde di Meandro, / e d'Ero e di Leandro / piansi 'l fato maligno, / et ebbi il Ciel sì grato e sì benigno // che 'l sordo mare e i venti / rabbiosi poser giù l'orgoglio e l'ira / al suon de la mia lira, / e ster cheti et intenti / a le mie voci i liquidi elementi' (ll. 51-65).

⁷⁶ 'E d'Ero e di Leandro / piansi 'l fato [...] / de' pastori cantai / con la zampogna umil le dolci cure / [...] e del ginebro mio le lodi alzai' (ll. 58-59, 66-67, and 70).

importance this vernacular ode has in Tasso's poetical reflection. Through this composition Tasso not only demonstrates that he shares Horace's ideas about literature, but he also, by merging together some of the most eminent Horatian poetical features, gives his verses a fundamental role within the corpus of his vernacular odes (and, probably, in general within his book of verses). Indeed, these rhymes testify to Tasso's thoughts on poetry and his aspiration to immortality, which a such high number of references to the Horatian model makes graver and more majestic.

In the same years in which Tasso devoted his literary efforts to the elucidation of new lyrical metres in order to transpose Horace's *Carmina* into vernacular forms, two other poets were composing Horatian odes in Italian: the Florentine Benedetto Varchi (1502-1565) and the Milanese Renato Trivulzio (1495-1545). Varchi first approached the reception of Latin literature in vernacular form through the translations he made in his youth of several classical authors. Later, he decided to develop new literary modes in order to render the features and contents of some ancient texts in Italian, mainly those of the two Latin authors he most admired, Horace and Tibullus.⁷⁷ In his early years, in fact, Varchi composed several poems, into which he put great effort to imitate the forms and features of Horace's odes and Tibullus's elegies.⁷⁸ These compositions were never printed, but remained in manuscript form.

⁷⁷ See Tomasi, "Mie rime nuove", pp. 173-214.

⁷⁸ On Varchi's first poetic years see Vittorio Fiorini, 'Gli anni giovanili di Benedetto Varchi', in *Da Dante a Manzoni* (Pavia: Tipografia Succ. Fusi, 1923), pp. 15-84; Giuliano Tanturli, 'Una gestazione e un parto gemellare: la prima e la seconda parte dei *Sonetti* di Benedetto Varchi', *Italique*, 7 (2004), 43-100; and Siekiera, 'Benedetto Varchi', pp. 337-42. On Varchi's link with Horace see Riccardo Scrivano, 'Varchi, Benedetto', in *EO*, III, 503.

Although Varchi decided to leave these vernacular odes unpublished,⁷⁹ probably considering them an insignificant literary episode of his youth, the corpus of these texts is nevertheless organized according to precise rules and a precise internal logic that bear witness to the care with which the poet edited his work.⁸⁰ It is useful to analyse these poems because they represent an important specimen of the metrical innovations carried on by following the example of Horace rather than that of Petrarch. The opening text of the lyrical collection serves as the literary space in which Varchi lists the precepts of his new poetics, based on the conscious awareness of conducting an experiment of absolute novelty in the Italian poetical scene (since Tasso's odes had not yet been published).⁸¹ Moreover, following the example of Horace (*Carm.* I, 1), he states his desire to abandon any epic inspiration in order to deal with simple and modest topics. In the other six vernacular odes that form Varchi's collection, the poet establishes a dialogue with his addressees, where the autobiographical elements are particularly numerous and offer a starting point for the lyrical discussions. These texts often follow the model of the Horatian *Carmina* in terms of features and structure. The second ode, 'Or ch'i prati di fior, le verdi selve', dedicated to Carlo Lenzoni, for example, is organized according to a witty poetical mixture of Horatian elements, since it merges references and images drawn from *Carm.* I, 9, *Carm.* I, 11, and *Epod.* 13. The poem, in fact, starts with a description of incipient winter-time derived from *Carm.* I, 9; subsequently, the author invites the

⁷⁹ These texts are preserved in Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, ms. 981, fols 166^r-184^v. Varchi's vernacular odes can now be read in the appendix of Tomasi, "Mie rime nuove", pp. 189-210.

⁸⁰ See Tomasi, "Mie rime nuove", p. 183.

⁸¹ In these years other poets (such as Trivulzio, Tasso, and Trissino) experimented new forms of poetical composition in vernacular through the imitation of Horatian schemes. Their texts had never been published, but had simply a manuscript circulation. Those by Trivulzio (as we will see) remained unpublished. The odes by Tasso will be printed in 1531, while Trissino's version of *Carm.* III, 9 ('Mentre ch'a voi non spiacqui') appeared in 1529 within his new *Canzoniere*. On Trissino's link with Horace see Riccardo Scrivano, 'Trissino, Giovan Giorgio', in *EO*, III, 490-91.

dedicatee to protect himself in a safe place where he can be cheered by a fireplace and wine, again closely following the model of Horace's ode I, 9 (echoing also *Epod.* 13). The poet then invites his friend not to lose the chance to seize the day, following the precepts of *Carm.* I, 11. If other texts present a higher degree of originality in terms of content, ode 6, 'O più che 'l vetro assai limpido fonte', instead, follows so closely *Carm.* III, 13 (to the *fons Bandusiae*) that it could even be labelled as a translation of that text.⁸² From a metrical point of view, Varchi's experiment in transferring the structures of the Horatian odes into Italian metres makes use of forms that partially disregard Petrarch's lyrical lessons in order to renew its features. For instance, in some cases, the poet employs mid-length strophes (composed of five up to eight lines), where he freely intertwines unrhymed hendecasyllables and *settenari* (such as in odes 1, 2, 3, and 4); in other cases, the author resorts to three-lines stanzas (ode 7), as well as to one single strophe made up entirely of unrhymed *settenari* (ode 5), or even to a sort of imitation of the Horatian quatrain form, i.e. a stanza of three unrhymed hendecasyllables followed by a *settenario* (ode 6). Varchi also used this last scheme (with the only difference that the last verse was made of five instead of seven syllables) in his vernacular poem 'Ser Benedetto, che per cortesia', transmitted by a different manuscript from the one in which the seven odes are copied.⁸³ All these modes witness a vibrant inventiveness that found only a distant echo in Varchi's later compositions, which more rigorously followed the Petrarchists' rules. Exclusively Bembian texts, in fact, entered Varchi's book of rhymes, published between 1555 and 1557; in these, the poet sings of his love for

⁸² See Tomasi, "Mie rime nuove", pp. 185-86.

⁸³ This text is preserved in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, ms. II VIII 146, fols 49^v-51^r.

Lorenzo Lenzi and his friendly links with several *literati* of the time.⁸⁴ However, in this lyrical work the author included some texts where the Horatian reception was more evident, such as those in which he celebrated the *locus amoenus*, or praised poetry as the only artistic force able to conquer time (like the sonnet 171 of the first part of the *Canzoniere*, ‘Io ebbi ed aggio e sempre avrò per fermo’), though these poems employ only Petrarchan metres. Nevertheless, Varchi neglected to follow the Horatian example when dealing with his love for the young Lorenzo, which could have found a prestigious point of reference in Horace’s *Carmina*.

In the same years in which Varchi devoted himself to his vernacular odes, the Milanese Renato Trivulzio, more commonly known for his activities as *condottiero* and soldier, also tried to find a new poetical way to reproduce the lyrical schemes and modes of Horace in Italian compositions.⁸⁵ Like those of Varchi, his poetical texts still remain unpublished.⁸⁶ However, Trivulzio’s activity was not completely unknown to his contemporaries. In fact, as Albonico points out, Alamanni addressed his first vernacular elegy to him (testifying, by so doing, that he was aware of the dedicatee’s interest in the vernacular transposition of Latin genres), and Ariosto mentions Trivulzio in his poem *Orlando Furioso* (XXXVI, 12, 7) as one of the noteworthy poets of his age. Trivulzio’s vernacular odes are contained in a

⁸⁴ *De sonetti di Messer Benedetto Varchi. Parte prima* (Florence: Torrentino, 1555); and *De sonetti di Messer Benedetto Varchi. Parte seconda* (Florence: Torrentino, 1557). On Varchi’s sonnets see Bernhard Huss, “‘Cantai colmo di gioia, e senza inganni’”. Benedetto Varchi’s *Sonetti (prima parte)* im Kontext des italienischen Cinquecento-Petrarkismus”, *Romanistisches Jahrbuch*, 52 (2001), 133-57; Laura Paolino, “Il “geminato ardore” di Benedetto Varchi. Storia e costruzione di un canzoniere “ellittico””, *Nuova Rivista di Letteratura Italiana*, 7.1-2 (2004), 233-314; and Tanturli, ‘Una gestazione e un parto gemellare’, 43-100.

⁸⁵ On Trivulzio’s biography, see Albonico, *Il ruginoso stile*, pp. 19-31. On his literary production see Albonico, *Il ruginoso stile*, pp. 41-132; and Emilio Tagliabue, “‘El libro de le rime’ di Renato Trivulzio”, *Bollettino storico della Svizzera italiana*, 16 (1894), 162-70.

⁸⁶ Only the critical diligence of Trivulzio’s contemporary scholar, Simone Albonico, recently allowed these texts to circulate. Excerpts of the odes can be read in Albonico, *Il ruginoso stile*, pp. 52-73.

manuscript of the Ambrosian Library in Milan, which is the only surviving copy to collect his whole production (which encompasses, along with his odes, several other poetical works, such as a *Canzoniere* of rhymes, a series of eclogues, and a short corpus of ‘Pescatorie’).⁸⁷

The two books into which Trivulzio’s *Odi* are organized have a regular structure. Both books contain twenty texts and are both book-ended by a composition in which the author praises Francis I, King of France. Their perfectly symmetrical pattern can be considered the first proof of the independence of Trivulzio’s work from that of Tasso, whose odes the Milanese author probably did not know.⁸⁸ Although there are many uncertainties in terms of dating Trivulzio’s texts, internal references and some allusions to historical events suggest a date of composition between 1529 and 1532.⁸⁹ Thus he must have started to devote himself to these poems a couple of years before the publication of Tasso’s first book of rhymes, which was published in 1531. It is obviously not possible to exclude a manuscript circulation of Tasso’s works before their publication, but the cultural backwardness of Milan within the Italian literary scene in the late 1520s, and the fact that during this period Trivulzio was often in France, suggest that his work had an independent genesis from that of Tasso. It is more plausible that Trivulzio received the literary stimulation to devote himself to the lyrical genre from the French poetical world. Indeed, Trivulzio’s second ode is dedicated to the French poet Jean Salmon Macrin, called the ‘Horace français’ by his contemporaries due to his rich production of Latin

⁸⁷ The manuscript is Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, ms. V 24 sup. For a description of the manuscript see Albonico, *Ruginoso stile*, pp. 15-18. At the fols 313^r-481^r of the manuscript there are the two books of Trivulzio’s *Odi*.

⁸⁸ See Albonico, *Il ruginoso stile*, p. 47.

⁸⁹ See Albonico, *Il ruginoso stile*, p. 47 and n. 88.

poems directly modelled on Horace's works. The prominent position Macrin occupies in Trivulzio's verses and the fact that the two authors could have met in France while the Milanese poet lived there invite us to consider that Macrin's works could have influenced Trivulzio's choice to devote himself to a poetry modelled on Horatian forms.⁹⁰ This would have been obviously impossible had the Milanese culture of the last decades of the Quattrocento not left a strong humanist mark on the education of Trivulzio and his literary taste.⁹¹

But other stylistic and thematic elements also testify to the distance between the literary productions of Trivulzio and Tasso. In metrical terms, for example, Trivulzio made constant use of the hendecasyllable, while Tasso employed this verse in a much more parsimonious way. Moreover, the former's strophes are often quatrains, which is a metrical form the latter never used. Finally, unlike Tasso, Trivulzio experimented with many patterns of rhymes, and introduced proparoxytone verses in his compositions in order to partially render in the rhythms of the Italian verses the forms of their classical model.⁹² From the point of view of content, there are also many differences between the two authors. Trivulzio's odes neither sing his love affairs nor praise his masters (despite the first and the last texts of each book, which are dedicated to the king of France). On the contrary, Trivulzio prefers to give voice to his friend Lelio Zurla's love, to deal with contemporary events (and quite often with those in which he was the protagonist), and to serenely take part in unaffected colloquia with his friends. Horace is the main reference point when articulating all three of these subjects. For example, in his Ode II, 17, where Trivulzio sings of

⁹⁰ See Albonico, *Il ruginoso stile*, pp. 66-69. On Macrin see Ian D. McFarlane, 'Jean Simon Macrin (1490-1557)', *BHR*, 21 (1959), 55-84 and 311-49, 33 (1960), 73-89.

⁹¹ See Albonico, *Il ruginoso stile*, p. 36.

⁹² See Albonico, *Il ruginoso stile*, pp. 50-55.

Lelio's love for Flavia, the poet closely follows the structure and the forms of *Carm.* III, 9, the famous 'Donec gratus eram tibi'. Ode I, 16, addressed to Luigi Priuli, is a lengthy invitation to his friend to pay a visit to him in his countryside residence.⁹³ The text is an 'invitatio ad locum amoenum', structured on the model of *Carm.* III, 29 or IV, 11, with images drawn from *Epod.* 2 and *Sat.* II, 2 and II, 8. A final example can be derived from Ode II, 15, 'Non ti doler più omai'. This love poem, where the author invites his dedicatee not to suffer for the betrayal of his beloved, is closed by the invitation to drink together in order to put an end to human sufferings in accordance to the most genuine Horatian tradition.⁹⁴

In the poetically lively 1530s, concurrently with Tasso, Varchi, and Trivulzio's attempts to render Horace's odes in the vernacular, other similar literary experiments were taking place. In 1539, in fact, a particularly inventive and unprecedented work was published in Rome. This anthology of vernacular rhymes, edited by Claudio Tolomei (1492-1556), was entitled *Versi et regole de la nuova poesia toscana*.⁹⁵ The rhymes collected in this anthology had a single aim, that of transferring Latin quantitative metrics into Italian accentual prosody, establishing a direct correspondence between the quantities of the classical verses and the accents of the vernacular metrical system.⁹⁶ This practice had already been attempted by some of the poets of the mid-Quattrocento who took part in Leon Battista Alberti's *Certame*

⁹³ 'Mi siede un'isoletta in grembo a un lago, / intorno a cui l'amene / chiare onde ia più chiare ogn'or diventano, // verdi ha le piagge ogn'or fiorite e piene / di lepri, e 'l monte vago / i conigli forar con l'unghie tentano. // Cingon mirti e ginepri l'alte rive, / l'edra da i scogli pende / che, bagnando, l'umor nutrisce mobile // e al strepito accordarsi sempre intende / de le dolci aure estive / che fiedon de gli allor la chioma nobile' (ll. 1-12).

⁹⁴ 'E meco, molle i crini / di nardo e d'apio cinti, / vieni, gli affanni estinti, / a rallegrarti con perfetti vini. // Di cretico liquore / chi di voi m'empie 'l vaso, / col qual monti Parnaso / baccante di poetico furore?' (ll. 29-36).

⁹⁵ *Versi et regole de la nuova poesia toscana* (Rome: Antonio Blado d'Asola, 1539), now ed. by Massimiliano Mancini (Manziana: Vecchierelli, 1997).

⁹⁶ See Mancini, 'L'imitazione metrica di Orazio', pp. 492-532.

coronario (1441), a literary contest in which authors recited vernacular compositions inspired and shaped by Latin models (both from a content and a metrical point of view).⁹⁷ The ‘Stanze de vera amicitia’ by Leonardo Dati, for example, aimed to reproduce the scheme of the Horatian Sapphic strophe. This technique was called ‘barbaric metrics’, since it reproduced classical forms in a language, which was neither Latin nor Greek.⁹⁸ This episode remained isolated, and it did not have a following in the fifteenth century. Only in the 1530s did Tolomei and those who entered his Academy ‘Della nuova poesia’ consider revitalizing that experiment and creating a more rigorous set of rules for writing texts in the vernacular according to the forms of Latin poetry. Those who took part in Tolomei’s anthology were numerous, and they worked hard not only to create an Italian equivalent to the epic hexameter or the elegiac couplet, but also to invent new lines and strophes able to recreate Horatian lyrical metres. Pier Pavolo Gualterio (c. 1500-1572), for example, and Anton Francesco Ranieri (1510-1560) reproduced the Sapphic strophe in a more rigorous (and complex) way than that employed by Dati. They forced themselves to respect a very rigid syllabic scheme where the short (S) and long (L) syllables followed one the other according to the Horatian Sapphic formula (LS LL LSS LS LS).⁹⁹ Ranieri’s ode ‘Alla sua donna’ provides an example of this pattern: ‘Veggio tal volta ne la vostra lieta / fronte raccorsi pura cortesia, / rara beltade, tenerezza

⁹⁷ Dati’s work can be read in *De vera amicitia. I testi del primo Certame coronario*, ed. by Lucia Bertolini (Modena: Panini, 1993). On the *Certame coronario*, among the many works, see Carlo Dionisotti, ‘Discorso sull’Umanesimo italiano’, in Id., *Geografia e storia della letteratura italiana*, pp. 179-99; Guglielmo Gorni, ‘Storia del Certame Coronario’, *Rinascimento*, 12 (1972), 135-81; Antonio Altamura, *Il Certame Coronario* (Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1974); and Luigi Trenti, ‘Orazio, Leon Battista Alberti e il Certame coronario’, in *OLI*, pp. 29-40.

⁹⁸ For a general overview of the different forms of ‘barbaric metrics’ in Italian poetry see Beltrami, *La metrica italiana*, pp. 221-43. For a collection of samples of these forms see *La poesia barbara nei secoli XV e XVI*, ed. by Giosuè Carducci (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1881). Francesco D’Ovidio, ‘La versificazione delle odi barbare’, in *Miscellanea di studi critici edita in onore di Arturo Graf* (Bergamo: Istituto italiano d’arti grafiche, 1903), pp. 9-52 is also still useful.

⁹⁹ See Mancini, ‘L’imitazione metrica di Orazio’, pp. 504-05.

molta / gratia divina' (ll. 1-4). Gualterio' Sapphic text, entitled 'A Silvia', offers another example of this scheme.¹⁰⁰

Other Horatian metrical patterns were studied and reproduced by the poets who participated in Tolomei's literary experiment. Dionigi Atanagi (c. 1504-1573) composed vernacular texts reproducing the scheme of the Alcaic strophe in one of his odes addressed to Tolomei.¹⁰¹ Anton Francesco Ranieri wrote his poem 'Passa ogn'altra vaga donna di gratia' in the third Asclepiadean system,¹⁰² and he was also the first to compose a text inspired by the iambic metrical structure Horace followed in his first ten epodes. The vernacularization of this metrical pattern, simply called the epodic system, can be seen in the ode 'Delle sue fiamme', always printed in Tolomei's volume.¹⁰³ In order to better exalt the efforts and the poetical skills of the poets who contributed to his anthology, Tolomei composed a meticulous grammar (published at the end of the book) that regulated the forms of the new poetry and prescribed their modes and structures. Tolomei and his literary fellows considered their poetical experience worthy of replacing any other vernacular poetical form. However, although their 'barbaric metrics' found an echo in some compositions of the second half of the century, such as those by Chiabrera, this experiment was relegated to the background of the sixteenth-century lyrical production.

¹⁰⁰ 'Ecco i be' prati ridono e le valli / ecco vezzosa ride primavera / ecco van pieni di pure acque i fiumi, / Silvia dolce' (ll. 1-4). On this text see CURCIO, p. 171; and Mancini, 'L'imitazione metrica di Orazio', p. 493.

¹⁰¹ 'Pastor famoso, et colmo di gloria, / che d'alti sensi, et d'unico stil raro / vinci, o pareggi, quanti Athene / viddene con Roma più lodati' (ll. 1-4).

¹⁰² Horace employed five different Asclepiadean strophes. The second and the fourth systems were attempted only in the last decades of the Cinquecento by Gabriello Chiabrera, while the first and fifth ones were never reproduced in Italian verse, since they were monometric schemes. See Mancini, 'L'imitazione metrica di Orazio', p. 521.

¹⁰³ 'Io del mio foco in mezzo sento nascere / spesso un diletto sì vago / sì dolcemente (chi mai penserebbelo?) / che fuor di quel non ho vita' (ll. 1-4).

Before continuing this overview of the vernacular imitators of Horace, it is important to consider more closely the *Versi et regole de la nuova poesia toscana*, since it encompasses important proofs of the intention of those poets who took part in this anthology not only to reproduce Horace's metrical patterns, but also to emulate his odes in their Italian compositions. Gualterio, the author of the vernacular Sapphic strophe 'A Silvia', for instance, not only demonstrated his desire to modulate that specific metrical scheme, but also gave voice through his ode to the Horace's invitation to seize the day, thus combining textual and thematic memories of the Latin author's odes. The images Gualterio employed at the end of the text (linked to the quick flight of time and the call to rejoice) were directly drawn from Horace's *carmina*.¹⁰⁴ Another text by Gualterio, 'Qual bello abbracci, Lolla, or qual giovane amante?', is closely derived from Horace. The poem, which was composed in vernacular elegiac couplets and eloquently entitled 'A Sibari', refers in every line to *Carm.* I, 8, whose forms and features Gualterio's poem attentively follow.

Pavolo del Rosso (1505-1569) and Dionigi Atanagi, both interested in reproducing Horace's metres in Italian, also followed the Horatian model in terms of content in other compositions they included in Tolomei's anthology. The former, for example, drew from the *Carm.* II, 10, the ode of the *aurea mediocritas*,¹⁰⁵ many images he employed in his poem in elegiac couplets, 'Pianta de' nostri lidi, felicissima pianta onorata', devoted to the theme of virtue and moral behaviour; the latter modelled his text, 'Santi benigni dei, che 'l mar reggete et amate', on the forms

¹⁰⁴ 'Corrono gli anni come fiume corre / e come al vento se ne fugge nebbia; / vannone, e portan seco i giorni nostril / portano i lustri. // Lassa i pensieri, e la tua verde etade / la stagion verde meco lieta godi: / godi, ch  tosto vederem cadere / l'aride frondi' (II. 25-32).

¹⁰⁵ It is worth pointing out that, from a philosophical point of view, Horace's *aurea mediocritas* has no direct connection with Aristotle's golden mean, since Horace's principle is linked to Epicurean philosophy. See Alain Michel, 'Filosofia', in *EO*, II, 78-81 (p. 81).

and features of *Carm.* I, 3, the *propemptikon* Horace addressed to Virgil. Finally, another author of the *Versi et regole* collection, Mario Zefiro, took Horace as his literary source in his poem ‘Alli accademici toscani’, where he closely imitated the first part of *Carm.* IV, 7 not only from in terms of content, but also of metrics.¹⁰⁶

4.3 THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF PETRARCHISM

All these lyrical innovations and poetic experimentations were conducted outside the boundaries of Bembian Petrarchism, since authors such as Tasso, Trivulzio, Tolomei, and the poets who contributed to his anthology wrote compositions that did not follow the forms of Petrarch’s conventional metres (i.e. sonnet, *canzone*, ballad, madrigal, and *sestina*). Nevertheless, some forms of reception of the Horatian works also took place within the conventional literary limits imposed by Bembo and allowed renewal of the most orthodox Italian lyrical tradition. The author who first demonstrated that one could derive some features and modes from the Horatian corpus in order to innovate Petrarchan poetry without upsetting its exterior forms was the codifier of this genre, Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470-1547).¹⁰⁷ I have already mentioned that in his dialogue *Gli Asolani* (1505) the poet composed some texts, such as the poems ‘Io vissi pargoletta in festa e ’n gioco’ (I, 3), ‘Io vissi pargoletta in doglia e ’n pianto’ (I, 3) and ‘Quand’io penso al martire’ (I, 14), and, above all, the *canzone* ‘Non si vedrà giamai’ (II, 6), whose metrical schemes appear to be closer to

¹⁰⁶ ‘Fugge il verno via, lieta or nel mondo ritorna / la primavera: che beato vivere! / Non più freddo rio, non ghiaccio o pioggia molesta / i campi copre né ci chiude l’aria’ (II. 1-4).

¹⁰⁷ For relevant critical bibliography on Bembo before 2008 see Tiziano Zanato, ‘Pietro Bembo’, in *Storia letteraria d’Italia*, VII.1, 335-444 (pp. 435-44).

a Horatian quatrain than to the forms employed by Petrarch.¹⁰⁸ Scholars have, however, tended to argue that these Bembian examples are more a late humanist tribute to a classical author than specimens of a proposal for a stylistic and rhetorical renovation of the *canzone* form, even though the following generation of poets saw in these texts a possible precedent and pretext that allowed them to innovate upon the more traditional Petrarchan metre. Besides these examples, drawn from the *Asolani*, Bembo wrote other compositions, which referred more closely to Horace. In his book of rhymes, published in 1530,¹⁰⁹ his readers could in fact find some texts whose rhetorical features, syntactic structures, or thematic subjects were more or less explicitly derived from the Horatian corpus. The reputation that Bembo's *Canzoniere* had throughout the sixteenth century, and the correlated fact that it was seen as the main literary authority, along with (and sometimes even more than) that of Petrarch, for all those who wanted to compose lyrical verses in Italian, contributed to making it acceptable to refer to a text of Latin antiquity in a Petrarchan composition and, in so doing, to extend the range of modes and topics proper to the traditional lyrical genre.

This possibility had not been granted just by Bembo; Petrarch himself gave witness in his *Fragmenta* that he was a profound admirer of Horace, and that he wanted to make the most of his example in his poems. Many affinities existed between the Latin author and Petrarch in terms of perspectives on life and time, one's relation to society, and considerations of death and fame. Similarly, many traits of both Petrarchan love and poetical phenomenology had been influenced by Horace,

¹⁰⁸ See Pietro Bembo, *Prose e Rime*, ed. by Carlo Dionisotti, 2nd Ed. (Turin: UTET, 1966), pp. 318-19; and Beltrami, *La metrica italiana*, p. 134 n. 142.

¹⁰⁹ Pietro Bembo, *Rime* (Venice: Da Sabbio, 1530).

if not explicitly modelled on his example.¹¹⁰ It is sufficient to say that Petrarch's proemial lines 'favola fui gran tempo, onde sovente / di me medesimo meco mi vergogno' (*Rvf.* 1, 10-11) are modelled on *Epod.* 11, 78 and recognized as such by Renaissance commentators; or that the intimate line describing Laura in *Rvf.* 159, 14 ('che dolce parla e dolce ride') is modelled on *Carm.* I, 22, 23-24. Petrarch's comforting formula on the power of poetry to mitigate human sufferings ('perché cantando il duol si disacerba', *Rvf.* 23, 4), in terms of features and structural modes is a literary echo derived from a statement of Horace (*Carm.* IV, 11, 35-36). One might add that the numerous Petrarchan reflexions on the passing of time and the brevity of life, often draw upon the images from the model of Horace, such as, for example, *Rfv.* 88 ('Poi che mia speme è lunga a venir troppo / et de la vita il trapassar sì corto', ll. 1-2), which follows *Carm.* I, 4. Another example is that offered by the three sonnets (*Rvf.* 145, 159, and 176) Petrarch openly composed on the basis of *Carm.* I, 22, where the Latin author celebrated the tranquillity and integrity of the soul as the only necessary condition for facing the whole world without any fear of being injured. Petrarch's 'Ponmi ove 'l sol occide i fiori e l'erba', his 'In qual parte del

¹¹⁰ On the relation between Horace and Petrarch, see Michele Feo, 'Petarcarca, Francesco', in *EO*, III, 405-25; Ugo Dotti, 'Orazio e Petrarca', pp. 11-28; CURCIO, pp. 3-23; Pietrobono, 'Orazio nella letteratura italiana', pp. 116-17; Francesco Maggini, 'Un'ode di Orazio nella poesia del Petrarca', *Studi Petrarqueschi*, 3 (1950), 7-12; Giuseppe Billanovich, 'L'Orazio Morgan e gli studi del giovane Petrarca', in *Tradizione classica e letteratura umanistica*, I, 121-38; Peter Lebrecht Schmidt, 'Petrarca und Horaz', in *Il Petrarca latino e le origini dell'Umanesimo. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Firenze, 19-22 maggio 1991*, ed. by Michele Feo (Florence: Le lettere, 1996), pp. 443-57; Walther Ludwig, 'Horazrezeption in der Renaissance oder die Renaissance des Horaz', in *Horace. L'oeuvre et les imitations. Un siècle d'interprétation. Vandoeuvres-Genève, 24-29 août 1992*, ed. by Walther Ludwig (Vandoeuvres-Geneve: Fondation Hardt, 1993), pp. 313-25; and Claudia Villa, "'Horatius, praesertim in Odis": appunti per un colloquio individuale', in *Motivi e forme delle 'Familiari' di Francesco Petrarca. Atti del convegno, Guargnano del Garda, 2-5 ottobre 2002*, ed. by Claudia Berra (Milan: Cisalpino, 2003), pp. 175-87. For a more complete bibliography before 1998 see Feo, 'Petrarca, Francesco', 424-25. For precise and punctual references to Horace in Petrarca's *Rvf* see the analytical indexes of Francesco Petrarca, *Canzoniere. Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, ed. by Rosanna Bettarini, 2 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 2005), II, 1721-22.

ciel, in quale ydea', and 'Per mezz'i boschi inhospiti et selvaggi' modulate the same topic and are composed of assorted images taken from the Latin ode.¹¹¹

It is particularly worth mentioning that Bembo derived from his Italian model the possibility of receiving specific topics, structures, and features from Horace in order to expand the literary boundaries of the lyrical genre, but that in his book of rhymes he did not take as his reference points those Horatian passages that Petrarch had imitated before him. The number of compositions in which the cardinal appears either to follow a Horatian rhetorical mode, or to modulate one of his themes, is not negligible, but in all these cases Bembo looked to other Horatian sources rather than those followed by Petrarch. Bembo, for example, structures his sonnet 52, 'Se ne monti rifei sempre non piove', in close accordance with the features and images of the original *Carm.* II, 9, rather than with those found in Petrarch.¹¹² In this sonnet Bembo tries to comfort Elisabetta Gonzaga, Duchess of Urbino, after the death of her husband Guidobaldo. Since, probably according to the literary sensitivity of the author, the quatrains of the sonnet followed the Horatian source rather too directly and explicitly, Bembo decided to introduce a shift in the second part of the composition, making the dead husband of the dedicatee directly address her with new words of consolation. In so doing, the poet proves his intention to deduce from the Latin ode a model to structure a *tessera* of his own poetical discourse, without completely falling into line with the Horatian subtext. Similarly, sonnet 72, 'O superba e crudele, o di bellezza', is composed on the basis of the Horatian ode to the

¹¹¹ See Dotti, 'Orazio e Petrarca', pp. 24-28.

¹¹² According to Bettarini's commentary to Petrarch's *Rvf*, the author seems to refer twice to *Carm.* II, 10, but in both these passages (*Rvf.* 50, 1, 'Ne la stagion che 'l ciel rapido inchina', and *Rvf.* 360, 47, 'fiere et ladri rapaci, hispidi dumi') the allusion appear particularly vague and probably due to the erudition of the commentator (at least in the second passage), while Bembo's reference is unmistakable and plain. See Petrarca, *Canzoniere*, I p. 255, and II, p. 1583.

coy Ligurinus, *Carm.* IV, 10.¹¹³ In this case the Latin text not only embellishes Bembo's composition, but it also provides the Italian sonnet with an elegant model by which to express in a simpler and, at the same time, more solemn language the topical invitation that the poet addresses to his bashful mistress to enjoy the beauties of youth. Another poem where the Cardinal shows his use of Horace is sonnet 84, 'I chiari giorni miei passer volando'. After having affirmed in the quatrains of the poem that he is old and tired of being the victim of Cupid's tricks, in the tercets the poet states he feels himself involuntarily to be in love again.¹¹⁴ Even though the situation is tinged with Petrarchan colours, a thematic reminiscence from *Carm.* IV, 1 can be perceived in the last six lines of the text. In the first ode of his fourth book of *Carmina*, in fact, a no-longer young Horace prays Venus to be freed from the chains of love, but his plea is in vain since the goddess doomed him to burn for love again. The parallel in circumstances and the proximity of specific poetical images invite us to consider that Bembo wanted in this sonnet to allude to the Horatian text. This reference was not only useful for depicting as more painful and, at the same time, more unavoidable his new feelings of love through the classical subtext, but it also probably had a structural function within the book of rhymes. In a *Canzoniere*, such as Bembo's, which was not simply a collection of poems, but, following the example of Petrarch, a series of poetical texts whose order described the precise evolution of the poet's love affair and his meditations on its several stages, a sonnet that represented the beginning of a new phase of the author's poetical and love itinerary

¹¹³ See Dionisotti's commentary to this sonnet in Bembo, *Rime*, p. 211. On other Horatian calques in Bembo's poems see Guglielmo Gorni, "Né cal di ciò chi m'arde". Riscritture da Orazio e Virgilio dell'ultimo Bembo', *Italique*, 1 (1998), 25-34; and Tiziano Zanato, 'Pietro Bembo', p. 405.

¹¹⁴ 'Sento un novo piacer possente e forte / giugner ne l'alma al grave antico foco, / tal ch'a doppio ardo, e par che non m'increzca. / Lasso ben son vicino alla mia morte: / ché puote omai l'infermo durar poco, / in cui scema virtù, febbre rinfresca' (ll. 9-14).

acquired strong value from the fact that it acted as a turning-point with reference to a classical text, which was universally known as the beginning of the last part of the Horatian *Carmina*.

Bembo did not merely look at Horace's lyrical works as a source in which to find a reference for his poems, but also decided to imitate the stylistic pattern of some of the Latin author's epistles, such as that to Iulius Florus (*Epist.* I, 3), in some of his compositions. For example, sonnet 58, 'Cola, mentre voi sete in fresca parte', follows some of the Horatian epistolary features such as dialogic discourse between the poet and the dedicatee, and reference to the classical delights of the secluded place in which the poet's friend finds himself.¹¹⁵ All these texts provided Petrarchist poets, who followed in their lyrical compositions the new rules established by Bembo, a clear precedent, which allowed them to derive from Horace specific rhetorical modes, stylistic features, and images.

Despite these features, Bembo also took from Horace a broader set of precepts, linked to the discipline of poetics in general terms. Bembo's constant appeal to the *labor limae*, the necessity for the poets to polish a poetical text with the utmost care before making it public, and his theory about the centrality of the stylistic and rhetorical quality of literary compositions over their number are both derived from Horace.¹¹⁶ Bembo not only professed these principles in his critical works, but he applied them in all his literary compositions. These two fundamental cornerstones of his poetics would have been assimilated by the future generation of learned men and poets. Bembo's precepts made of the Horatian principles the ideal point of reference

¹¹⁵ See CURCIO, p. 142.

¹¹⁶ On the influence of Horatian poetics on Bembo see CURCIO, p. 140; and Ferruccio Ulivi, *L'imitazione nella poetica del Rinascimento* (Milan: Marzorati, 1959), pp. 26-61.

for sixteenth-century authors, and these became two of the most common and important guidelines of the poetical arts written during the Cinquecento.

Bembo's example paved the way for the subsequent lyrical reception of Horace, but in order to better understand the future extent of references to the Latin poet, it is important to note that there is also a series of poems whose features are more or less explicitly derived from Horace in the book of vernacular rhymes written by the other founding father of the sixteenth-century Petrarchism, Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530), published, by a fortuitous coincidence, the same year (1530) Bembo's *Rime* were printed.¹¹⁷ The relationship existing between Sannazaro and the Latin author was multifaceted.¹¹⁸ Even though the most evident reception primarily took place in his Latin verses, on which I will focus in the next chapter, his Italian compositions show us a constant and mature dedication to the works of the classical poet, from which they derive both rhetorical traits and thematic subjects. First, Horace's example played an important role in Sannazaro's pastoral *prosimetrum*, *Arcadia*, published in 1504. The work not only dealt with many topics largely articulated by the Latin poet (such as the contrast between city and countryside, the search for the golden mean, the value of friendship), but also it is overlaid (mainly in the poetical sections that gives a rhythms to the work) with quotations of and lexical references to the Horatian

¹¹⁷ Jacopo Sannazaro, *Sonetti e Canzoni* (Rome: Antonio Blado d'Asola, 1530, and Naples: Johan Sultzbach, 1530). On the importance of Sannazaro for the Italian sixteenth-century lyrical tradition see Pier Vincenzo Mengaldo, 'La lirica volgare del Sannazaro e lo sviluppo del linguaggio poetico del rinascimento', *La rassegna della letteratura italiana* 56 (1962), 436-82; Marco Santagata, 'Caratteri del primo petrarchismo lirico aragonese. Introduzione', in *La lirica aragonese. Studi sulla poesia napoletana del secondo Quattrocento* (Padua: Antenore, 1979), pp. 88-93; and Ezio Raimondi, 'Il petrarchismo nell'Italia meridionale', in *Premarinismo e pregongorismo. Atti del convegno organizzato dall'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* (Rome: Accademia dei Lincei, 1973), pp. 95-123.

¹¹⁸ See Carlo Vecce, 'Sannazaro, Iacopo', in *EO*, III, 465-68; and Francesco Tateo, 'Orazio nell'umanesimo napoletano', pp. 44 and 50-52.

lyrical and hexametrical corpus.¹¹⁹

Horatian *tesserae* are also widespread in Sannazaro's *Canzoniere*. As in Bembo's case, these classical references in the lyrics of the Neapolitan author had not only an aesthetic function, enhancing the literary value of the compositions, but also a precise role within the book of rhymes in terms of poetical structure. In fact, it so happens that the Neapolitan author makes reference to those Horatian texts, which had a specific importance from the point of view of the division of the Latin collection, in those poems that occupied corresponding positions in his own work. For example, the *sestina* 33, 'Spente era nel mio cor l'antiche fiamme', which opens the second part of Sannazaro's book of rhymes, follows the modes and features of *Carm.* IV, 1, the ode of the rebirth of Horace's love in his mature years. The Neapolitan poet depicts a poetical scene which is similar to that of the Latin *carmen*, and, as we noticed in the case of Bembo, the fact that the Latin author puts this text at the beginning of his last book of *Odes* enhances the partitive function of Sannazaro's *sestina*. Other allusions are more vague, but still significant from the point of view of the poetical reuse of Horatian topoi in different lyrical contexts. In sonnet 13, 'Mandate, o Dive, al ciel con chiara fama', addressed to Federico of Aragon, the poet turns Horace's representation of himself as a singing swan (*Carm.* II, 20) into an encomiastic form and praises the poetical virtues of his dedicatee,¹²⁰ hoping to climb Mount Helicon with him.¹²¹ Sonnet 28, 'Dal breve canto ti riposa, o lira', by contrast, derives from Horace (*Carm.* III, 21) only its opening line, since the

¹¹⁹ See Vecce, 'Sannazaro, Iacopo', 466; and Erspamer's commentary to the *Arcadia* (Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, ed. by Francesco Erspamer [Milan: Mursia, 1990]).

¹²⁰ 'Di questo almo mio cigno il nome altero' (l. 2).

¹²¹ 'Già gran tempo il mio cor sospira e brama / lasciar quest'atro e torbido pensiero, / e gir con lui per più dritto sentiero / là dove Apollo ancor lo aspetta e chiama' (ll. 5-8).

Italian rhyme does not move on to a hymn to the lyre, following the example of the classical author, but instead to a lamentation over the reluctance of the poet's beloved to love him. A closer reference to the Latin poet can be detected in the *canzone* 83, 'In qual dura alpe, in qual solingo e strano', where Sannazaro sings of his desperate love-sufferings, from which he tries in vain to escape. The subject of the text, later developed for another five strophes, is sententiously summarized by the author at the end of the first stanza with explicit Horatian tonalities and modes. He writes 'chi fugge, e 'l suo mal si tira appresso, / cielo pò ben cangiar, ma non se stesso' (ll. 12-13) and the learned reader of the time could not have avoided thinking of the conclusion of *Epist.* I, 11, or the central lines of Ode II, 16,¹²² where the Latin poet, who gives voice in the whole carmen to the restless search for peace of every human being, remembers that no one can escape from one's self and that the only way to find some rest is to be satisfied with one's modest possessions and seize the passing day. Exactly as in Horace's text, in the vernacular poem the warning that the poet's rational 'I' gives to himself (and his readers) functions to express his consciousness of his situation. However (and here lies the novelty introduced by the modern author in comparison to what his Latin model wrote), the fact that, despite this awareness, the passionate side of the poet forced him to behave differently from what his sense suggested he do, shows the impossibility, for the poet, of leaving the condition of a suffering lover which provided the matter to his song. These few examples show us the ways in which Horace was received in Sannazaro's book of rhymes and in his *Arcadia*, and the importance these classical references had in his lyrical work. As I mentioned, the *Canzoniere* of the Neapolitan poet was perceived,

¹²² Hor. *Carm.* II, 16, 19-20, 'patriae quis exul / se quoque fugit?' (who would escape from himself, even while changing his land?).

ever since its first appearance as a poetical authority in the panorama of sixteenth-century Petrarchism and, consequently, all its characteristics were worthy of being imitated. This contributed to making the practice of modulating Horatian features and structures in Petrarchan metres not only highly acceptable, but also proper to be followed.

4.4 PETRARCHISM AFTER BEMBO

In order to better examine the development of this poetical phenomenon, it is appropriate to consider separately its evolution during the mid and late Cinquecento in the main literary milieux of the Peninsula. Obviously, although the Italian cultural and political panorama was fragmented during these decades, the biographies of many men of letters witness their high mobility and the size of the network with which they were in contact. This can undoubtedly complicate this geographical approach, both since many figures could be associated with more than one milieu, and because the relations between two or more areas could interfere with the specific traits of a determinate cultural context. Nevertheless, the points of contact between different parts of the Peninsula are important components of the picture since they represent the constitutive factors of sixteenth-century culture, which deliberately developed forms of literary uniformity. The present analysis will take account of these features, and, at the same time, will compare them with those elements of uniqueness, which each cultural area developed on the basis of a common substratum. As well as studying the individual authors, each will also be connected to the milieu, which had a major influence on their literary formation and career. The

three areas I will consider in the next sections are those, which have at their centres Naples, Florence, and Venice. Rome will be excluded for two main reasons: first, since the late 1520s, above all due to the consequences of the Sack of Rome (1527), the literary scene of the capital of the Papal State was particularly modest in comparison with those of the other three milieux; and, secondly, many of the *literati* who later on enriched the Roman scene lived and worked there only temporarily and irregularly.¹²³

4.4.1 Naples

The first geographical area I will focus on is that of Naples. The Bembian lesson, reinforced by the model of Sannazaro, was widely diffused in the Neapolitan literary scene, and the forms and modes of Petrarchism became the linguistic and stylistic point of reference for the new generations of poets. However, some authors, such as Angelo di Costanzo (1507-1591), despite methodologically embracing the new Bembian proposal with enthusiasm, carried on some minor poetical developments in order to expand (or sometimes to cross) the borders of Petrarchism.¹²⁴ Costanzo enhanced his lyrical experiments by drawing on Horatian poetic forms. In fact, he reproduced the Sapphic strophes in Italian verses, employing Gualterio's scheme

¹²³ See Marco Ariani, 'I lirici', in *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, VII.2, 943-98 (pp. 970-73).

¹²⁴ See Paola Farenga, 'Di Costanzo, Angelo', in *DBI*, XXXIX (1991), 742-47; Lanfranco Caretti, *Studi e ricerche di letteratura italiana* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1951), pp. 111-39; Raimondi, 'Il petrarchismo nell'Italia meridionale', pp. 110-14; Silvia Longhi, 'Una raccolta di rime di Angelo di Costanzo', *Rinascimento*, 25 (1975), 231-90; and Renzo Cremante, 'Per il testo delle Rime di Angelo di Costanzo', *SPCT*, 16 (1978), 81-98.

(three hendecasyllables and a *quinario*), but adding to it a rhyming structure.¹²⁵ Other *literati*, on the other hand, followed the new poetical rules more prescriptively, and did not write their compositions in any metrical forms other than those considered canonical by Bembo; it was only in stylistic terms that they introduced any personal traits in their lyrical works.

According to scholars, one of the more innovative features of the Neapolitan Petrarchism of the mid-sixteenth century was the employment of a nonlinear syntax, where tortuous phrases alternated with epigrammatic sentences.¹²⁶ This technique was practised by three of the main Neapolitan poets of the time: Luigi Tansillo (1510-1568), Bernardino Rota (1509-1575), and Antonio Minturno (1500-1574). The three of them proved to be rigorous followers of Bembo and Sannazaro's lessons not only in terms of the adaptation of Petrarchan modes and structures, but also in deriving from Horace features to enrich their books of rhymes.

Beginning with his first poetic works, Tansillo proved to have a particular link with Horatian themes, for example, in two short poems in octaves. In the first one, entitled *Il vendemmiatore* (1532), he portrays the boisterous joy of the grape harvest, in the second, the *Stanze a Bernardino Martirano* (1540), he describes to his friend his life at sea.¹²⁷ Both texts refer to famous Horatian topics and features. In *Il*

¹²⁵ See for example the poem 'Tante bellezze ha il cielo in te cosparte' (in *Parnaso italiano ovvero Raccolta de' Poeti classici italiani [...]*, 56 vols (Venice: Zatta, 1787), XXX, 119). On Di Costanzo's sapphic strophe see Mancini, 'L'imitazione metrica di Orazio', p. 494.

¹²⁶ See Ariani, 'I lirici', 960. For a more general overview see Giulio Ferroni and Amedeo Quondam, *La 'locuzione artificiosa'. Teoria ed esperienza della lirica a Napoli nell'età del manierismo* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1973).

¹²⁷ On Tansillo see Pierluigi Mazzamuto, 'Luigi Tansillo', in *Letteratura italiana. I minori*, II, 1253-81. On his production see Erika Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo and Lyric Poetry in Sixteenth-Century Naples* (Leeds: Maney, 2003); Ciro Rubino, *Tansilliana: la vita, la poesia e le opere di Luigi Tansillo* (Naples: IGIE, 1996); Id., *La poesia di Luigi Tansillo* (Marigliano: Istituto Anselmi, 1993); Tobia Toscano, 'Due "allievi" di Vittoria Colonna: Luigi Tansillo e Alfonso D'Avalos', in Id., *Letterati*

vendemmiatore Tansillo constantly indulges on the theme of *carpe diem*, composing his *Stanze* in accordance to several modes of Horace's epistolary style. These latter traits were followed also in Tansillo's *Capitoli*, where the poet dealt with his most intimate experiences in a placid and friendly tone, calmly describing them to his dedicatees, with whom he pretended to be in serene conversation – modes which inevitably alluded to Ariosto's *Satire* and, concurrently, to Horace's own works.¹²⁸ Even in those rare cases in which Tansillo's tone becomes graver or livelier, such as in *Capitolo* 3, where the poet, having survived a tempest, addresses animated words to those who foolishly first sailed (and still sail) the oceans, these alterations probably derive from a different Horatian text that the poet has followed (in this case *Carm.* I, 3).

Tansillo's poetical work that owes most to the Horatian lesson is his collection of lyrical verses. This corpus of texts was only partially printed during the life of the poet. In Giolito's 1552 anthology of Neapolitan poets, there was a short *Canzoniere* by Tansillo, but the majority of his lyrical texts remained in manuscript form until the eighteenth century.¹²⁹ The different stages of his book of rhymes preserved in different manuscripts witness the care that the author devoted to his rhymes, whose

corti accademie: la letteratura a Napoli nella prima metà del Cinquecento (Naples: Loffredo, 2000), pp. 85-120; Id., 'Dal petrarchismo ai petrarchisti', in *Le forme della poesia, Ottavo Congresso dell'Associazione degli italianisti italiani* (Siena, 22-25 settembre 2004), 2 vols (Siena: Betti editrice, 2006), I, 139-56; and Carmine Boccia, 'Luigi Tansillo tra Spagna e Italia: un poeta in crisi di identità', in *Atti dell'XI Congresso ADI (Napoli 26-29 settembre 2007)* <[http://www.italianisti.it/FileServices/21/Boccia Carmine.pdf](http://www.italianisti.it/FileServices/21/Boccia%20Carmine.pdf)> [accessed 12 September 2015].

¹²⁸ On Tansillo's *Capitoli* see Carmine Chiodo, 'Incespature e limiti nei *Capitoli* giocosi e satirici di Luigi Tansillo', *Misure critiche*, 8 (1978), 57-67.

¹²⁹ Tansillo's *Canzoniere* can now be read in Luigi Tansillo, *Il Canzoniere edito e inedito*, ed. by Erasmo Percopo, 2 vols [Naples: Liguori, 1996]. On the history of Tansillo's book of rhyme see Milburn, *Luigi Tansillo*, pp. 1-34. On the literary aspects of this lyrical collection see Andrea Afribo, 'Aspetti del petrarchismo di Luigi Tansillo', *RLI*, 12.1 (1994), 43-77; Mara Fabbri, 'La lirica travestita: il Canzoniere di Luigi Tansillo', *CL*, 17 (1989), 117-42; Mario Scotti, 'Luigi Tansillo tra Rinascimento e Barocco', in *Premarinismo e pregongorismo*, pp. 125-50; and Giorgio Petrocchi, 'Tansillo e il petrarchismo napoletano', in Id., *I fantasmi di Tancredi* (Caltanissetta-Rome: Sciascia, 1982), pp. 367-98.

poetical range Tansillo constantly enriched thanks to the images, themes, and structures he derived from the Horatian *Carmina*. Some of these features could be remodulations of previous illustrious Italian poets' adaptations of the Latin author. These include variations on the ode to Ligurinus (*Carm.* IV, 10). This was a key text for Bembo, and one Tansillo imitated in his sonnet 39, 'Questi occhi e queste guange e queste chiome', and made explicit reference to in the last stanza of the *canzone* 'Qual tempo avrò già mai che non sia breve' ('Vada io pure a l'estremo / de la terra, o là ov'arde e là 've gela, / al mar che gl'Indi cela', ll. 109-111). Tansillo likewise drew on *Carm.* I, 22, 1-8, which had been extensively imitated by Petrarch.

Other poems, however, prove that the author had a profound familiarity with the Horatian texts. For example, Tansillo based his sonnet 75, 'Qual uom che trasse il grave remo e spinse' on the last verses of *Carm.* I, 5, whose images (such as the votive board hung up by the poet as an offering in a temple) and topics (such as the parallel between survival of a shipwreck and survival of the pains of love) are wittily employed by the Neapolitan poet. Tansillo alluded to the same model more than once. In fact, in his sonnets 110, 'Pria che l'ore veloci avare ed empie', and 153, 'Da poi che le tedesche e le latine', the author used the same features he derived from ode I, 5.

In several other cases, Tansillo did not precisely structure entire compositions on the basis of a Horatian precedent, but rather borrowed from the Latin author an image or a rhetorical mode, sometimes giving it a major poetic function, but more often simply using it to stylistically adorn his lines. While the textual memory of the Horatian *priamel* pattern becomes a turning-point element in sonnet 58, 'Fuggi, ninfa

schernita, fuggi il rivo', since it allows the poet to describe the love song as the desired but impossible alternative to a pretended epic inspiration, many other references to Horatian odes have a merely rhetorical function. Examples of this latter usage are the Horatian *tessera* of the dazzling light of the moon among the stars (*Carm.* I, 12, 47-48 and *Epod.* 15, 1-2), which Tansillo quotes in *canzone* 4, 'Amor ch'alberghi e vivi nel mio petto' ('splendea la vostra [idea] in ciel, non altrimenti / ch'in bel seren la luna fra le stelle', ll. 69-70), or the Epicurean formula 'pulvis et umbra sumus' (we are dust and shadow) (*Carm.* IV, 7, 16) alluded to in *canzone* 9, 'Ecco, crudel, che vinci, ecco ch'io moro' ('ombra e polve, ha molt'anni, ch'io sarei', l. 83). We may also note the quotation from the beginning of *Epod.* 2 in the second quatrain of sonnet 109, 'Già la settima volta s'inghirlanda' ('O beato colui ch'altra ghirlanda', l. 5).

This increasing tendency to re-use single elements of the Horatian poetic diction as *disiecta membra* (scattered fragments) to be inserted in the lyrical compositions without finding a counterbalance in larger forms of thematic or stylistic imitation can probably be considered the application to the classical authorities of what was happening to the works of Petrarch in the mid decades of the Cinquecento. In these years, we can see an increasing tendency to transform the features and modes of the Petrarchan model into mere rhetorical elements to be assembled instead of considering them parts of a wider theory of imitation.¹³⁰ It is not unlikely that the same form of rhetorization was applied by Petrarchists to the other ancillary models, such as Horace, which they followed in their compositions.

¹³⁰ On a general problematisation of the question see Ariani, 'I lirici', 951-56.

This trend became much more evident in many other poets of the second half of the sixteenth century. In Bernardino Rota's book of rhymes (1560), for example, Horace is evoked a significant number of times through simple *tesserae* drawn from his works and inserted in the new compositions among many Petrarchan fragments.¹³¹ In sonnet 25, 'Quel che non voglio io fo, quel che vorrei', a moral reflection on the often impossible necessity of freeing oneself from passions, Rota concludes his last tercet with a condemnation of the treachery of human life, which is defined in Horatian style as 'lungo secolo al mal, breve al ben hora' (l. 14), with a clear reference to *Carm.* II, 3, 5-8, where the Latin poet depicts human existence as a long series of sufferings, interrupted by short moments of joy. From the same ode Rota probably derived the subtext of the fourth line ('correva al fine al qual tutti corremo') of his sonnet 144, 'Era madonna giunta al passo estremo', which appears very similar to line 25 of *Carm.* II, 3 ('omnes eodem cogimur' [we all are driven toward the same place]). *Carm.* I, 28 in which the philosopher Architas, who measured the size of seas, lands, and sand grains, is mourned, can be seen as the source of an image that Rota employed in sonnet 110 ('e quante arene il mar di libia aduna', l. 4); while the opening of sonnet 112, 'Quanto ti deve il mondo, almo Himeneo', echoes *Carm.* IV, 4, 37 ('quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus' [How much, Rome, you owe to the Nero family]).¹³²

In other texts, Rota demonstrated a different usage of the Latin model, following some of his stylistic patterns, such as in sonnet 134, 'Né la man ch'in sé stessa il ferro torse', where he employed the *priamel* structure, or sonnet 86, 'Se da questa

¹³¹ On Rota's see Luca Milite, 'Introduzione', in Bernardino Rota, *Rime*, ed. by Luca Milite (Parma: Guanda-Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 2000), pp. ix-xxxix; and Carlo Fenizia, *Bernardino Rota poeta napoletano* (Naples: Nappa, 1933).

¹³² On this last Horatian quotation see Rota, *Rime*, p. 289.

bell'alpe il cor mai spetro', in which the modes of an elusive self-exaltation of his poetry over the consumption of time are displayed.¹³³ But the composition in which the Horatian example seems to bear its most sophisticated fruit is Rota's *canzone* 54, 'Amor, poiché mi vieti'.¹³⁴ This lyric deals with the poet's intention to abandon love poetry and to devote himself to other literary genres. The structure of *recusatio* is one of the most typical poetical traits of Horace's *Carmina* and this in itself proves the *canzone*'s debt to the classical model. The inner structural evolution of the poem echoes another Horatian passage even more closely. After having stated that he is resolute in giving up love poetry, the author spends the rest of the *canzone* praising the georgic life, endowing it with traits distinctive of the golden age. Up to the very last lines, the reader is invited to think that the whole poem is designed to exalt the serene life of Arcadian peasants. Suddenly, however, the poet states in the *congedo* of the text that all he said is in vain since Love has abruptly taken new possession of him, and has brought him back to his previous condition. Although the modern editor of Rota's *Canzoniere* consider this final unexpected turning-point a feature the author could have derived from Sannazaro's elegies,¹³⁵ I believe, instead, that this mode could result from the imitation of the surprising conclusion of Horace's second epode, in which we are told that all the preceding idyllic praise of country life was in fact made by the tax collector Alfius.

¹³³ Milite in his edition of Rota's *Rime*, lists also other close references that the Neapolitan poet makes to the Latin author's corpus: see Rota, *Rime*, p. 820.

¹³⁴ See Rota, *Rime*, pp. 142-48.

¹³⁵ See Rota, *Rime*, p. 148 (note to ll. 79-81).

Antonio Minturno, in contrast to Rota, employed specific Horatian memories not only with an aesthetic aim but also with a functional one.¹³⁶ In the late 1550s he organized for publication a book of rhymes that would have encompassed the poetical production of an earlier period of his literary career, which had come to an end, before he moved to new religious works, more appropriate to his new status of bishop; Minturno did not, however, decide to structure his *Canzoniere* in accordance to the Petrarchan bipartition of ‘Rime in vita’ and ‘Rime in morte’, but, on the contrary, he followed the model of the Horatian *Carmina*, organizing his collection in three books.¹³⁷ He chose to reproduce the pattern only of the first three books of Horace’s odes, since he considered the fourth one as a late appendix, following the opinion conveyed by the ancient commentators and reported also by Landino and Mancinelli.¹³⁸ Every book of his volume did not deal with different topics, but included love, political, encomiastic, and religious texts, exactly as Horace did in each book of his *Carmina*. Only from a metrical point of view there are some differences between the three sections, since the first two books include only texts modulated in Petrarchan forms, while in the third the author collected, along with few sonnets, poems he made imitating Latin and Greek metrical forms, such as three eclogues, some Pindaric poems with the traditional tripartite scheme (employed also by Trissino and Alamanni), one epithalamium, and some *canzoni* with short strophes and a large employ of *settenari*, which seem probable imitations of Horatian *carmina*

¹³⁶ The first edition of Minturno’s rhymes is *Rime et Prose del Signor Antonio Minturno* (Venice: Rampazzetto, 1559). On his lyrical work see Stefano Carrai, ‘Sulle rime del Minturno. Preliminari d’indagine’, in *Il libro di poesia dal copista al tipografo*, ed. by Marco Santagata and Amedeo Quondam (Modena: Panini, 1989), pp. 215-30; and Ferroni and Quondam, *La ‘locuzione artificiosa’*, pp. 299-314. On his relationship to the Latin world see Stefano Carrai, ‘Classicismo latino e volgare nelle rime del Minturno’, in Id., *I precetti di Parnaso: metrica e generi poetici nel Rinascimento italiano* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1999), pp. 167-92.

¹³⁷ See Carrai, ‘Classicismo latino’, pp. 186-92.

¹³⁸ See Landino’s commentary on the last ode of the third book of the odes (APPENDIX [5]), and that of Mancinelli at the beginning of the fourth book of the *Carmina* (APPENDIX [11]).

according to the formula Tasso employed in his vernacular odes. However, despite this macro-textual reception of the Horatian model, Minturno also derived from the Latin author some of the themes and forms he displayed in his compositions. Examples of this Horatian imitation are widespread in Minturno's rhymes. If the sonnets 'Anima bella che 'l bel petto reggi' and 'Quanti dal Tago ispano a l'indo Idaspe', for example, echo the urging to seize the day and to enjoy the pleasures of the youth which Horace addressed to the shy Ligurinus in *Carm.* IV, 10, an ode that had been already imitated by Bembo, in other texts Minturno's Horatian references are more original. In his sonnet 'Re de' venti, qual colpa oggi ti move', the expression 'furor, che stringa, agghiacci e turbi Giove' (l. 3) seems to be drawn from *Epod.* 13, 1-2.¹³⁹ Likewise, some images of the first quatrain of the sonnet 'Quella che con la sua volubil molto', devoted to the theme of Fortune as the cause of his love, echo some modes of *Carm.* I, 35. However, Minturno's book of rhymes displays another trend in reception, which involves the imitation of formal and syntactic features of the Horatian model. On the one hand, the poet structures some of his texts by following the modes and the pattern of the Latin author, such as his sonnet 'Sile, se le tue fresche amate rive', which emulates *Carm.* III, 13, where the poet exalts the Bandusia spring. On the other hand, many texts witness Minturno's penchant for the re-use of the *priamel* structural pattern, as is evident both in some of his love sonnets, such as 'E non si vide mai di notte oscura', and in some encomiastic compositions, such as 'Non quel che tinse il mar di Salamina', and 'Non pur d'Urania il figlio ch'Elicona'. The same feature is used also in an encomiastic-sympotic sonnet, 'Signor mio caro, altre onorate rive', where the *priamel* mode is

¹³⁹ Hor. *Epod.* 13, 1-2, 'Horrida tempestas caelum contraxit et imbres / nivesque deducunt Iovem' (A fearful tempest contracted the sky, and the driving rain and snow bring Jupiter to earth).

combined with another typical Horatian trait, the poet's invitation to a friend of his to join him in a peaceful setting, where they can both sing their loves. It is worth reproducing this text not only for the several Horatian elements, which are included in its lines, but also because it offers a splendid example both of the forms of mannerism of mid-sixteenth-century lyrical poetry, and that tendency to complex and articulated syntactic structure which I indicated as one of the main features of the Neapolitan Petrarchism.

Signor mio caro, altre onorate rive,
 altre fonti, altri fiumi, et altri amori,
 altre piagge, altri monti, altri pastori,
 altre selve, altre ninfe, et altre dive,

 altri lauri, altri mirti, et altre olive,
 altri armenti, altre gregge, altri lavori,
 altri balli, altri canti, et altri onori,
 altre corone, altre memorie vive

 io cerco, e verso quella nobil pianta,
 il cui bel frutto è sempiterna vita,
 or drizzo il passo de la mente, e l'occhio,

 e quivi or te la mia sampogna invita,
 e quella tua leggiadra, alma Amaranta,
 a più bella erba, che 'l tuo bel finocchio.¹⁴⁰

This text proves how much Minturno can derive from Horace in terms of structural form and thematic invention, even though the poet's references to the ancient author are characterized more by a calque of modes, rather than by obvious features derived from Horace, since both the content of the rhymes, and the classically rhetorical elements are visibly Petrarchan. The same thing can be seen in the proemial sonnet of Minturno's *Canzoniere*, in which the poet combines traditional Petrarchan elements while explicitly following Horace's *Carm.* I, 7 in

¹⁴⁰ The text is taken from Minturno, *Rime et Prose*, p. 145.

terms of literary pattern.¹⁴¹ Minturno's decision, in as key a text as the introductory poem,¹⁴² to neglect the canonical openings of Petrarch or Bembo in order to follow a classical preamble witnesses a high degree of originality, as well as the desire of the poet to present his new lyrical work as innovative, even as partially released from excessively strict rules of imitation thanks to the features he has derived from Horace.

4.4.2 Tuscany

The second geographical area on which this analysis will focus in studying the evolution of lyrical poets' reception of Horatian models in their works is Tuscany. While Florence was the cornerstone of the main cultural and literary movements that took place in the area during the second half of the Cinquecento, other, secondary centres of cultural diffusion, such as Siena, had an important function. Within the Tuscan panorama, the influence of Horace can be considered relatively widespread and pervasive. Some outstanding figures such as Giovanni Della Casa and Alessandro Piccolomini created refined and deep imitations of the Latin author, but, at the same time, we can also see the scattered presence of features and themes

¹⁴¹ On Minturno's opening sonnet see Stefano Carrai, 'Minturno, Marino e un modulo oraziano', *Italique*, 1 (1998), 96-101.

¹⁴² On the importance of the proemial sonnet in sixteenth-century books of rhymes see Francesco Erspamer, 'Il canzoniere rinascimentale come testo o come macrotesto: il sonetto proemiale', *Schifanoia*, 4 (1987), 109-14; Guglielmo Gorni, 'Il libro di poesia nel Cinquecento', in Id., *Metrica e analisi letteraria* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993), pp. 193-203; Andreas Kablitz, 'Die Selbstimmung des petrarkistischen Diskurses im Proömialsonett (Giovanni Della Casa – Gaspara Stampa) im Spiegel der neueren Diskussion um den Petrarkismus', *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, 42 (1992), 381-414; Marino Boaglio, 'Il proposito dell'imitazione. Liriche d'esordio e canzonieri petrarcheschi nel primo Cinquecento', in *Teoria e storia dei generi letterari. Luoghi e forme della lirica*, ed. by Giorgio Barberi Squarotti (Turin: Tirrenia Stampatori, 1996), pp. 85-118; and Stefano Carrai, 'Il canzoniere di Giovanni Della Casa dal progetto dell'autore al rimaneggiamento dell'edizione postuma', in *Per Cesare Bozzetti. Studi di letteratura e filologia*, pp. 471-98 (pp. 473-76).

drawn from the Horatian texts in other books of rhymes composed by minor Petrarchists. In these works, references to the classical model either simply enriched the style of the compositions from a rhetorical point of view, or witnessed the literary emulation of the author with regard to Latin authority.

Examples of this second trend are offered by the corpus of lyrical poems by Agnolo Firenzuola (1493-1543) and Francesco Coppetta de' Beccuti (1509-1553). The former, a Florentine by birth, had already been at the centre of my analysis in chapter 3 as the author of a translation of the Horatian *Epistle to the Pisones*.¹⁴³ Firenzuola's interest in the Latin author went beyond this work: he also composed Petrarchan lyrics which appeared in his *Canzoniere* (1549), in accordance with the features and modes of the Horatian odes. For example, his madrigal 'Chi è, Pirra, quel leggiadro giovincello' closely derives from *Carm.* I, 5.¹⁴⁴ The emulation of the Horatian model is also evident in the compositions of another poet, Francesco Coppetta, who, like Firenzuola, has already been mentioned in the previous chapter as the translator of four Horatian *carmina*, which the editor of his book of rhymes (published posthumously in 1580) included in a separate section entitled 'Tradutioni'.¹⁴⁵ However, among the poems that were part of the main corpus of his

¹⁴³ On Firenzuola see Tonia Caterina Riviello, *Agnolo Firenzuola: the Androgynous Vision* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1986). It is still worth also referring to Giuseppe Fatini, *Agnolo Firenzuola (1493-1543)* (Turin: Paravia, 1932); and Id., *Agnolo Firenzuola e la borghesia letterata del Rinascimento* (Cortona: Tipografia Sociale, 1907). On specific aspects of his lyrical production see Florindo Cerreta, 'Una canzone del Firenzuola e una vecchia teoria sulla paternità della commedia degli Ingannati', *La bibliofilia*, 73 (1971), 151-63; Nerida Newbiggin, 'The Canzone nella morte d'una civetta: Some Notes on a Sixteenth-Century Text', *Studies in Philology*, 76.2 (1979), 109-26; and Patrizia Bettella, 'Discourse of Resistance: The Parody of Feminine Beauty in Berni, Doni and Firenzuola', *Modern Language Notes*, 113.1 (1998), 192-203. His texts can be read in Agnolo Firenzuola, *Opere*, ed. by Delmo Maestri (Turin: UTET, 1977); and in Agnolo Firenzuola, *Opere scelte*, ed. by Giuseppe Fatini (Turin: UTET, 1969).

¹⁴⁴ See *Rime di Messer Agnolo Firenzuola fiorentino* (Florence: Giunti, 1549), p. 37.

¹⁴⁵ On Coppetta Abd-El-Kader Salza, 'Francesco Coppetta de' Beccuti, poeta Perugino del secolo XVI', *GSLI*, suppl. 3 (1900), 19-27; Ezio Chiorboli, 'Di alcune questioni intorno alle rime del Coppetta', *GSLI*, 75 (1920), 234-47; Armando Balduino, 'Appunti sulle rime del Coppetta (una scelta dell'autore

lyrical Petrarchan collection there is also a sonnet, ‘Tu pure andrai con mille navi e mille’, which derives its subject and features from the verses of epode 13 in which Chiron addresses his warnings to Achilles (ll. 12-18).

If in Firenzuola and Coppetta’s books of rhymes the references to Horace were not many and displayed a close emulation of their textual model, two other Tuscan poets proved in their poetical collections how intimate and, at the same time, polished their relationship was with the Latin lyricist and how deeply they studied and re-elaborated his texts. The first of these authors is the Sienese man of letters Alessandro Piccolomini (1508-1579), who had a constant interest in the whole Horatian production. Not only did he assimilate and follow Horace’s model in his own poetical works, but he also placed Horace at the centre of his analysis as a rhetorician, exegete, and philosopher, as I have showed in chapter 2. In his rhymes, which were published in 1549 with the title of *Cento sonetti*,¹⁴⁶ Piccolomini gives numerous highly refined examples of his reception of Horatian themes and modes.¹⁴⁷

e alcuni componimenti inediti), *GSLI*, 146 (1969), 52-74; and Paolo Cherchi, ‘Nuovi appunti sulle rime del Coppetta’, *GSLI*, 147 (1970), 534-40. Coppetta’s rhymes can partially be read in Francesco Coppetta, *Rime*, ed. by Ezio Chiorboli (Bari: Laterza, 1912). A modern critical edition had been prepared by Andrea Crismani, ‘Edizione critica delle *Rime* di Francesco Coppetta dei Beccuti’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Padua, 2009).

¹⁴⁶ *Cento Sonetti di Messer Alessandro Piccolomini* (Rome: Valgrisi, 1549).

¹⁴⁷ On the Horatian reception in Piccolomini’s poetical works see Eugenio Refini, ‘Le “gioconde favole” e il “numeroso concetto”: Alessandro Piccolomini interprete e imitatore di Orazio nei *Cento Sonetti*, 1549’, *Italique*, 10 (2007), 17-57. On Piccolomini’s lyrical production see Giambattista Pellizzaro, ‘I sonetti di Alessandro Piccolomini’ *Rassegna critica della letteratura italiana*, 8 (1903), 97-111; Paolo Zaja, ‘Intorno alle antologie. Testi e paratesti in alcune raccolte di lirica cinquecentesche’, in *I più vaghi e più soavi fiori. Studi sulle antologie di lirica del Cinquecento*, ed. by Monica Bianco ed Elena Strada (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2001), pp. 113-45 (pp. 124-25); Agostino Casu, ‘“Romana difficultas”. I *Cento sonetti* e la tradizione epigrammatica’, in *La lirica del Cinquecento. Seminario di studi in memoria di Cesare Bozzetti* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2004), pp. 123-54; Klaus Ley, ‘Alessandro Piccolominis *Cento sonetti* zwischen Zensur und Selbstzensur. Zur Aktualität von Petrarca’s “poesia civile” in der Krise der Renaissance’, *Italienisch*, 26 (2004), 2-18; Refini, ‘*Per via d’annotationi*’, pp. 62-68; Franco Tomasi, ‘L’accademia degli Intronati e Alessandro Piccolomini: strategie culturali e itinerari biografici’, in *Alessandro Piccolomini (1508-1579). Un siennois à la croisée des genres et des savoirs. Actes du Colloque International (Paris 23-25 septembre 2010)*, ed. by Marie-Françoise Piéjus, Michel Plaisance, and Matteo Residori (Paris: Université Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3, 2012), pp. 23-38.

What is even more striking, however, and needs to be considered as the main characteristic of his Horatian reception is the statement the poet inserts in the preface to his collection. In the introductory pages of his volume Piccolomini explicitly declares that he derived many subjects and features of his lyrical works from the Latin poet ('buona parte dei miei sonetti vedrete fondata in diverse materie morali e piene di gravità, ad imitazion d'Orazio, il quale ammiro grandemente e tengo in pregio'). This is not the first time the name of Horace is mentioned as an important point of reference in a preface to a vernacular literary work, but it is one of the first occurrences in which an author, who professed to follow the norms of Petrarchism in terms of forms and metres, states in such an explicit way that he has as a stylistic and thematic model an author different from Petrarch.¹⁴⁸

Piccolomini's opening words cast an unequivocally Horatian light over his whole book of rhymes. The book does not disappoint the expectations that the preface raises in the reader. Already from a structural point of view, as Eugenio Refini has pointed out, the title of the *Canzoniere* (*Cento sonetti*), may allude to the Horatian lyrical corpus, which is composed of one hundred and three *carmina*.¹⁴⁹ The number of Piccolomini's compositions might appear as a simple mathematical approximation of the 103 odes of the Latin poet. Moreover, the key texts of the Sienese author, such as the opening sonnet, 'Altra tromba sarà ch'alto risuoni', the closing one, 'Ecco che in Roma sono, ecco che fuore', and that which divides the collection in two halves, i.e. sonnet 51, 'Almo sol già, de la gran ruota al punto', are explicitly modelled on three Horatian compositions. Piccolomini's first sonnet

¹⁴⁸ On the prefatory letter to the *Cento Sonetti* see Refini, 'Le "gioconde favole"', 20-28.

¹⁴⁹ See Refini, 'Le "gioconde favole"', 29. On the importance of numerological forms in sixteenth-century *Canzonieri* see Simone Albonico, *Ordine e numero. Studi sul libro di poesia e le raccolte poetiche nel Cinquecento* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2006).

alludes to and is structured on the basis of *Carm.* I, 7; sonnet 51 employs many images and features drawn from Horace's *Carmen saeculare*; sonnet 100, dealing with the topic of the retreat from the urban world, and praising the calm and peace of country life, closely echoes *Sat.* II, 6 (especially ll. 60-62). Among the ninety-seven other sonnets, which deal with love, as well as spiritual, encomiastic, political, and moral topics, the influence of Horace is particularly evident as well. Several sonnets (such as 4, 15, 72, 84, 88), for example, are ethical considerations on a typical Horatian moral and behavioural principle, *carpe diem*; while many other texts (sonnets 11, 14, 16, 22, 57, 98) celebrate the beauties of a retired life in a bucolic or georgic landscape, and praise the literary *otium* that can be experienced there, exactly as the Latin poet did in his *Satires*, in his *Epistles*, and in his *Odes*. Even in some polemical poems Piccolomini employs the poetical darts of Horatian morality to castigate human vices, as in sonnet 26, 'Splendor non ha, Mideo, l'oro e l'argento', composed against a cheapskate, which draws its content and modes from *Carm.* II, 2; in sonnet 30, 'Coi raggi suoi la luna alta e lucente', addressed to an inconstant woman, which is modelled on the forms and theme of *Epod.* 15; or in sonnet 62, 'Se gli avi e maggior tuoi, tigri e serpenti', composed to condemn a cruel lover, which derives its topic and features from *Carm.* III, 10. All these examples prove the importance that Horace had in Piccolomini's literary work, both from a thematic point of view and from that of rhetoric and poetical diction. Although Bembian Petrarchism remained the main lyrical matrix of his poetry, the Siennese author displays a constant tendency to find new literary reference points in classical models, whose example he proved to be able to imitate in a refined way.

Horace's lyrical modes, features, and, above all, themes were essential elements for another Tuscan author of the time, the Florentine archbishop Giovanni Della Casa (1503-1556), one of the most important, influential, and distinguished poets of the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁰ The reception of the Latin poet within Della Casa's poetical works (both in Latin and in Italian) is extensive and traceable at different levels.¹⁵¹ The following sections will focus on his vernacular literary production, while a closer analysis of his Latin corpus will be carried out in the next chapter. Just as the number of rhymes in Piccolomini's book, alluded to that of the Horatian odes, so also in the vernacular poetical work of Della Casa the first Horatian element can be detected in an external trait of his volume of poems. Even though his *Canzoniere* was not comparable from a quantitative point of view to the Latin poet's *Carmina*, the fact Della Casa's volume is much shorter in comparison to those traditionally produced in the Cinquecento (it encompassed, in fact, only sixty-four texts), established another specific link with Horace's work. Its brevity was the concrete application of the Horatian principle of *labor limae*, which Bembo also considered one of the main precepts of his poetics. A good poet, explained Horace, needs to focus more on the quality of his verses than on their quantity, since every composition he writes must be corrected and polished many times before he makes it

¹⁵⁰ For a complete bibliography on Della Casa up to 1975 see Antonio Santosuosso, *The bibliography of Giovanni Della Casa. Books, readers and critics (1532-1975)* (Florence: Olschki, 1979). On more recent bibliography see Ariani, 'I lirici', 993-94.

¹⁵¹ See Marco Galdi, 'De latinis Johannis Casae carminibus disputatio', *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti. Società Reale di Napoli*, 1 (1910), 113-47; Giuseppina Stella Galbiati, *L'esperienza lirica di Giovanni Della Casa* (Urbino: Editrice Montefeltro, 1978); Giovanni Parenti, 'I carmi latini', in *Per Giovanni della Casa. Ricerche e contributi*, ed. by Gennaro Barbarisi and Claudia Berra (Bologna: Cisalpino, 1997), pp. 207-40; and Francesco Bausi, 'I carmi latini di Giovanni Della Casa e la poesia umanistica fra Quattro e Cinquecento', in *Giovanni della Casa ecclesiastico e scrittore*, ed. by Stefano Carrai (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2007), pp. 233-58.

public.¹⁵² Hence, the poet is not ashamed to produce a short volume of rhymes, because this is the way to prove he paid a great deal of attention and care to his texts. These precepts were the basis of Della Casa's poetical art and he concretely applied them, by constantly working on his poems – which, however, he had always sincerely considered unworthy of being printed. Della Casa's constant attempt to approach perfection had as a consequence the fact that his verses were published only after his death, in 1558.¹⁵³

The Latin poet was for Della Casa not only a master of poetics, but also an author who had already articulated many of the themes that were particularly dear to the Florentine archbishop.¹⁵⁴ The education of the latter, his personal attitude, the experiences he lived through, and consequently his meditations over them developed in Della Casa a disenchanted gaze on the world and its false glories. As a consequence, he professed, on the one hand, the necessity to avoid the *profanum volgus* (unholy rabble) and that of abhorring both deceitful praises and deceptive fame. On the other hand, he also tried to find a positive counterbalance through other approaches and mind-sets, such as declaring and professing the need to be satisfied with modest and simple things, the necessity of always behaving in a virtuous way, and of opposing to the relentless pace of time a shelter such as that offered by poetry, considered as the only way through which virtue can shine and human beings can reach immortality. All these constituents of Della Casa's thought can find

¹⁵² See above all *Ars P.* 289-305 and 385-90.

¹⁵³ Giovanni Della Casa, *Rime e prose* (Venice: Belivlacqua, 1558). A second more complete edition was Giovanni Delal Casa, *Rime e prose* (Florence: Giunti, 1564). The *Canzoniere* can be now read in a modern critical edition: Giovanni Della Casa, *Le Rime*, ed. by Roberto Fedi (Rome: Salerno, 1978). Recently three new commented editions have been published: Giovanni Della Casa, *Rime*, ed. by Roberto Fedi (Milan: Rizzoli, 1993); Id., *Rime*, ed. by Giuliano Tanturli (Parma: Guanda-Fondazione Pietro Bembo, 2001); and Id., *Rime*, ed. by Stefano Carrai (Turin: Einaudi, 2003).

¹⁵⁴ See Galbiati, *L'esperienza lirica*, p. 26.

corresponding expression in Horace's works. For this reason the Florentine poet developed a particular predilection for the Latin author, whose work became one of his constant points of reference. He could find in Horace splendid examples of how to deal with the themes he wanted to examine and, at the same time, the source from which to derive the features that he could employ to articulate those subjects. Although Della Casa never tried to renew the Petrarchist metres with the elaboration of new forms from the Latin tradition, he referred to the ancient author in at least one third of his vernacular compositions, whether through explicit quotations, stylistic modes derived from Horace's works, or images drawn from his poetical iconography.¹⁵⁵ Many times these thematic and textual memories were forced into half a line or even a word, thanks to the *labor limae* of the poet, who placed in his compositions a series of learned references that cast new poetical light on, and revealed hidden secondary meanings in, his texts.

A few examples can demonstrate how widespread, refined and suggestive is the net of the Horatian references in Della Casa's lyrics. The first unequivocal quotation from the Latin author can be found in the first sonnet of his *Canzoniere*, 'Poi che ogn'esperta ogne spedita mano', where the formula 'pregio del mondo e mio sommo e sovrano' (l. 4) alludes to the Horatian expression 'dulce decus meum' (my gentle honour) (*Carm.* I, 1, 2). By employing the words that the Latin poet referred to his dear friend and protector Maecenas in a sentence addressed to his beloved, Della Casa evokes through this expression a feeling tinged with both love and the chastest of friendship. Horace is also alluded to through particularly learned expressions, which enrich the solemnity of Della Casa's poetical dictation, such as 'pastor ideo'

¹⁵⁵ This statistic derives from the analysis of the index of the edition of Della Casa's *Rime* made by Giuliano Tanturli (p. 233).

that refers to the shepherd Paris and derives from *Carm.* I, 15, 1. Even incisive opening formulas, such as the first line of sonnet 37, ‘Hor piangi in negra veste orba e dolente’, may derive from the odes. In this case the gravity of the situation described in the text (the death of Bembo) is emphasized through the employment of one of the most incisive openings of the *Carmina* (‘Nunc est bibendum’, from *Carm.* I, 37). The Latin author also provides features, which can enrich the genre of the sonnet with epistolary traits, as in rhyme 59, ‘Correggio, che per pro mai né per danno’, which echoes the modes of *Epist.* I, 3. Moreover, Horace is seen as the model to follow when praising the virtue and exalting the immortalizing power of poetry. Della Casa, in fact, refers to the Latin author both in his *canzone* 47, ‘Errai gran tempo e del camino incerto’, when he celebrates the fame brought by poetry (ll. 62-68 echo *Carm.* II, 20, 1-4), and in sonnet 48, ‘Come splende valor, perch’huomo no ’l fasci’, where he depicts virtue shining without any garment (an image which is drawn from *Carm.* III, 2, 17-20).

4.4.3 Venetian Region

During the second half of the sixteenth century the Petrarchists of the Tuscan region proved to be highly respectful of the Bembian forms, and, at the same time, warmly receptive of the lesson of Horace, to whose texts they referred not only as a source of rhetorical modes and poetical features, but also as an interiorized structural model for their books of rhymes. However, it must be said that the Italian area in which the Latin lyricist found the most distinctive, articulate, multifarious, and diversified

forms of reception is the cultural region that has at its centre the city of Venice.¹⁵⁶ In this third focal point of the present investigation, not only the number of Horace's admirers and followers is higher than in the other areas we have considered to date, but also his influence is more long-lasting and displayed in a wider series of sub-genres of Petrarchism.

Already in the 1550s the Paduan Girolamo Muzio (1496-1576) can be seen to take Horace as his main point of reference and to seek to imitate not only his lyrical compositions, but his whole production.¹⁵⁷ Muzio's volume (published in Venice in 1551)¹⁵⁸ represents the first vernacular collection of poetical works where an author explicitly displays his desire to reproduce the entire Horatian corpus both in terms of

¹⁵⁶ On Venetian Petrarchism in the second half of the Cinquecento see Edoardo Taddeo, *Il manierismo letterario e i lirici veneziani del tardo Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1974); Armando Balduino, 'Petrarchismo veneto e tradizione manoscritta', in *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto*, ed. by Giorgio Praloran (Florence: Olschki, 1976), pp. 243-70; Francesco Erspamer, 'Petrarchismo e manierismo nella lirica del secondo Cinquecento', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, IV.1, 189-222; Ariani, 'I lirici', 977-84; and Riccardo Bruscagli, 'La preponderanza petrarchista', in *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, VII.3, 1559-1615 (pp. 1586-91).

¹⁵⁷ Muzio's works can be read in these modern editions: Girolamo Muzio, *Dell'arte poetica*, in *Trattati di poetica e di retorica del Cinquecento*, II, 165-209; Id., *Rime per Tullia d'Aragona*, ed. by Anna Maria Negri (Pavia: Croci, 1996); Id., *Lettere (Venezia, Giolito, 1551)*, ed. by Anna Maria Negri (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2000); and Id., *Rime*, ed. by Anna Maria Negri and Massimo Malinverni (Turin: RES, 2008). On Muzio's poetical production see, among the others, Francesco Bausi, 'Un'egloga inedita (e sconosciuta) di Girolamo Muzio', *SFI*, 47 (1989), 211-54; Luciana Borsetto, 'Lettere inedite di Girolamo Muzio tratte dal codice Riccardiano 2115', *La Rassegna della Letteratura Italiana*, 94 (1990), 99-178; Giovanni Amoretti, 'Un umanista italiano alla corte di Emanuele Filiberto: Girolamo Muzio e l'elogio di Nizza (1542)', in Id., *La città fedele. Letteratura di lingua italiana a Nizza da Emanuele Filiberto a Vittorio Emanuele II* (Bordighera: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri 1998), pp. 13-44; Valendna Grohovaz, 'Girolamo Muzio e la sua "battaglia" contro Pietro Paolo Vergerio', in *Pier Paolo Vergerio il giovane, un polemista attraverso l'Europa del Cinquecento, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Cividale del Friuli, 15-16 ottobre 1998*, ed. by Ugo Rozzo (Udine: Forum, 2000), pp. 179-206; Luciana Borsetto, 'L'ufficio di scrivere "in soggetto di honore". Girolamo Muzio duellante, duellista', in Id., *Riscrivere gli antichi, riscrivere i moderni e altri studi di letteratura comparata tra Quattro e Ottocento* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2002), pp. 343-63; Id., 'L'egloga in sciolti nella prima metà del Cinquecento. Appunti sul liber di Girolamo Muzio', in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Giovanni da Pozzo*, ed. by Donatella Rasi (Rome-Padua: Antenore 2004), pp. 123-61; and Marco Faini, 'Muzio, Girolamo', in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, ed. by Adriano Prosperi, Vincenzo Lavenia, and John Tedeschi, 4 vols (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2010), II, 1093.

For a complete bibliography see <<http://www.nuovorinascimento.org/cinquecento/muzio.pdf>> [accessed 10 September 2015].

¹⁵⁸ *Rime diverse del Mutio Iustinopolitano* (Venice: Giolito, 1551). It contained, along with the collection of rhymes, 'Tre libri di Arte Poetica', 'Tre libri di lettere in rime sciolte', the poem 'La Europa', and 'Il Davalo di Giulio Camillo tradotto'.

extent (in fact the total number of Muzio's poems is 160, which is the number of the texts that the Latin poet composed), and in terms of the genres imitated, since the Paduan author aimed to imitate the odes with his rhymes, the *Letter to the Pisones* with his new *Arte Poetica*, and the *Epistles* with his poetical letters.¹⁵⁹ Muzio made his intention even more unambiguous by stating in the preface to his volume that he wanted his texts to follow the order of those of Horace, and establishing clear correspondences between them.¹⁶⁰ Since Muzio, unlike Horace, did not write any satires, he begs in his preface to be excused for this omission.¹⁶¹ Despite this statement, Muzio in fact invoked many features and themes of the Horatian *Sermones* in his poetical epistles.

Muzio's reception of Horace is present not only at the level of the disposition of his different works, but also in several minor aspects of the collection. Though the opening book of rhymes mainly shows Petrarchan traits and features, with little space offered to the Horatian model, Muzio is, however, able to derive from Horace some forms and modes to enrich his poetical diction and embellish his texts, as in the sonnet 'Sogni chi vuol di riportar corona', whose pattern is shaped according to that of *Carm.* I, 7, or in the sonnet 'Poi che lontani dal furor di Marte', where the poet invites his dedicatee to find time to be briefly lifted by poetry during wartime, exactly as Horace encouraged Augustus to do in *Carm.* III, 4, 37-40. In these cases the poet refers to the Horatian example aiming more to experiment with new lyrical

¹⁵⁹ On the Horatian influence on Muzio's poetical production see Aulo Greco, 'Muzio, Girolamo', in *EO*, III, 368-69.

¹⁶⁰ 'Ad imitatione di lui [di Orazio] ho ordinati alcuni miei poetici componimenti: che sì come nel volume suo sono prima le Ode, et dopo quelle la arte Poetica, et a quella vengono appresso Pistole, et Sermoni: così io il primo luogo in ordine ho dato alle mie Ode [...]. A quelle ho posto appresso una arte mia Poetica, la quale seguitano tre libri di lettere in rime sciolte' (*Rime diverse del Mutio*, p. 3).

¹⁶¹ 'Et se secondo l'ordine di Horatio non vi sono anche i Satirici Sermoni, iscusimi il non mi essere io mai dilettrato di tal maniera di compositione' (*Ibid.*).

features rather than to base the evolution of his poetical discourse on that of the Latin poet.

The influence of this latter aim, however, becomes much more evident in Muzio's *Arte Poetica*, divided in three books written in blank verse. Even here, however, the references the Paduan author makes to the Latin precedent are mainly linked to stylistic details and minor precepts.¹⁶² He takes from Horace some poetical images and some similes, does not imitate the general structure of the *Epistle to the Pisones*, since he considered it an incomplete text, due to the fact that it mainly dealt with tragedy and epic, while Muzio wanted to compose a comprehensive treatise that discussed a much larger number of literary genres. Despite this intention, Muzio ends up dealing mainly with comedy, developing the ideas Horace expressed about that genre. It is worth mentioning that in his discussion Muzio puts particular emphasis on the concept of *decorum* of theatrical action, and he holds that the Italian vernacular is particularly suited to comedy.¹⁶³

The poetical work in which the Paduan poet can be seen to follow the Horatian model in a much more constructive and extensive way is his collection of *Lettere in rime sciolte*, divided into three books. Dealing with political, social, military, amatory, cultural, moral, and behavioural matters, Muzio emulates the affable tone with which Horace addressed his dedicatees in his epistles. However, from the point of view of poetical images, stylistic features, and rhetorical structures he employs, the Paduan poet alternatively made reference to both the *Epistulae* and the *Sermones*. From these works, for example he draws the use of intertwining his main discourse

¹⁶² See CURCIO, p. 173.

¹⁶³ See Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism*, I, 729-31, and *Trattati di poetica*, II, 167-68.

with short moral and generally illustrative fables, and the benevolent tone of reproach he displays in his verses, such as in letter I, 2, devoted to denouncing the bestial condition under which some people live. In this poem he even quotes *Sat.* I, 1, 69-70 in his line ‘dico di voi e di dir di me intendo’. Indeed, it is from the first Horatian satire that the author consistently derives the topic and forms of his investigation of human beings’ unhappy fate that he developed in letter III, 4.

Muzio’s works bears witness to the vitality and liveliness of the Horatian reception in the poetic innovations of the Venetian literary scene. In more traditional areas of the poetical panorama, such as the collections of Petrarchan rhymes, the presence of the Latin poet was also quite widespread, and the influence of his example remarkably multifaceted. One example of this trend can be found in the book of rhymes published in 1573 by Girolamo Molino (1500-1569), one of the most important figures of the Venetian mid Cinquecento.¹⁶⁴ As a poet, Molino bridged the literary gap existing between the generation of Bembo and that of Domenico Venier (1517-1582), the keystone of the Venetian cultural scene in the second half of the sixteenth century. Molino was a wise guardian of the Bembian lesson, which he skilfully applied in accordance to the rules of the genre, simply enhancing in his compositions the personal in-depth analysis in terms of content, and the *gravitas* in terms of style. His rhymes were often structured as poetic meditations on time and death. In dealing with these themes, Molino was able to merge personal feelings, Petrarchan elements, and forms, modes, and images derived from the more meditative odes of Horace. The Latin author, in fact, was a primary model for the

¹⁶⁴ Girolamo Molino, *Rime* (Venice: [n. pub.], 1573). On Molino see Elisa Greggio, ‘Girolamo Molino’, *L’ateneo veneto*, 18 (1894), 188-202 and 255-323; Taddeo, *Il manierismo letterario*, pp. 73-97; Erspamer, ‘Petrarchismo e manierismo’, pp. 207-10; and Franco Tomasi, ‘Molin, Girolamo’, in *DBI*, LXXV (2011), 359-62.

Venetian poet, who found in the Horatian verses the point of reference according to which he structured some of his rhymes. Horace depicts in many of his *Carmina* a vaguely sad and pensive atmosphere that Molino tries to reproduce both when inviting youths to seize any occasion to rejoice (such as in the sonnet ‘Amiamci poi che qui cosa non s’have’), and when suggesting that one should behave wisely and face serenely both the ordeals and the happy events of one’s life (such as in the sonnet ‘Soffri, cor doloroso, e i martir tuoi’).

The model of the Latin poet is evident not only in the rhetorical features Molino employs, and in the developed themes, but also in the ways in which he intertwines these two elements. Like Horace, the Venetian poet insinuates into festive scenes and invitations to celebration the idea of the overwhelming doom of death through vague allusions and short poetic asides. The reception of Horace’s poetic diction and lyrical forms is evident not only in Molino’s introspective or moral rhymes, but even in some love poems. In these cases, the authority of Petrarch is obviously the undisputed main reference point, but the Venetian author resorts to some Horatian memories as well, in order to articulate minor but noteworthy details in a personal way. In the sonnet ‘Chi vi fa innanellar l’aurarate chiome?’, for example, the poet deals with the commonplace of the betrayed lover; but the lines in which he tries to comfort himself by considering that, just as he had been deceived, the current lover of his beloved will in turn be misled¹⁶⁵ echo the final strophes of *Carm.* I, 5, where Horace developed the same subject through the same images. The Latin verses alluded to do not simply provide Molino with an element of consolation, but also allow the poet to make an allusive reference to the perennial flow of time and

¹⁶⁵ ‘Chi s’altri del mio ben si gode il seme / tosto il frutto del suo li fia ancor tolto’ (ll. 10-11).

situations, which inevitably affects every human being. Therefore even this love sonnet is tinged with meditative colours thanks to the Horatian subtext to which it refers.

In the same years, Horace was at the centre of a further two-fold reception. On the one hand, his odes occasionally became a source for the metrical innovations of Domenico Venier, the founder of the Venier circle.¹⁶⁶ His compositions were traditionally Petrarchist from the point of view of the language and genre, but he indulged in intrepid experimentalism in structuring his rhymes on the basis of complex metrical and syntactical geometries. Sometimes these unusual forms had their source in Horace, as when Venier imitates both the pattern and the topic of *Carm.* III, 9 in his ballad 'Mentre s'avesti caro'.¹⁶⁷ On the other hand, some of those poets, who devoted themselves to a sub-genre of the Petrarchism (such as the moral lyrics), made the Horatian production one of their primary models. Rhymes devoted to moral subjects were a constitutive part of the Petrarchan code, but only during the second half of the Cinquecento, along with the emergence of many new poetical tendencies, did some authors start to arrange collections of texts which exclusively dealt with moral matters.¹⁶⁸ One of the most eminent poets among them was the

¹⁶⁶ On Venier's biography Piero Antonio Serassi, 'La vita di Domenico Venier', in Domenico Venier, *Rime* (Bergamo: Lancellotto, 1751), pp. i-xlvi is still fundamental. On his poetry and the cultural circle he organized in his palace see Damaso Alonso, *Pluralità e correlazione in poesia* (Bari: Adriatica, 1971); Bodo L. O. Richter, 'Petrarchism and Antipetrarchism among the Veniers', *Forum Italicum*, 3 (1969), 20-42; Taddeo, *Il manierismo letterario*, pp. 39-70; Martha Feldman, 'The Academy of Domenico Venier. Music's Literary Muse in Middle-Renaissance', *RQ*, 44 (1991), 476-512; Id., *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 87-120; and Agostino Casu, 'Sonetti "Fratelli". Caro, Venier, Tasso', *Italique*, 3 (2000), 45-87.

¹⁶⁷ This poem was printed in *De le rime di diversi nobili poeti toscane, raccolte da Messer Dionigi Atanagi*, 2 vols (Venice: Avanzo, 1565), II, fol. 14^v.

¹⁶⁸ On the collection of moral rhymes see Brusciagli, 'La preponderanza petrarchista', 1596-99.

Venetian Pietro Massolo (c. 1520-1590).¹⁶⁹ In his book of moral rhymes, whose definitive version was printed in 1583 (but on which he had worked since the 1550s), the poet clearly shows that he considers Horace as one of his main points of reference.¹⁷⁰ From the Latin author's works, in fact, he often derives specific content that he develops in his poems, as well as the rhetorical patterns and features according to which he modulated many of his lyrics. The use of a pagan author in a moral context could have seemed at least peculiar in the Counter-Reformation period in which Massolo lived, but the sonnets of the Venetian author are rigorously irreproachable from the point of view of religious orthodoxy, mainly because Massolo cautiously avoided any reference to those aspects of the moral Horatian precepts which were drawn from the Epicurean doctrine. In fact, Massolo's *Rime morali* only allude or evoke the Latin poet when inviting readers to modest and meek behaviour, asking them to accept their destiny and avoid abstruse and otherworldly thoughts, as well as suggesting that they meditate over the passage of time and the inevitability of death, all the while celebrating poetry as one of the strongest remedies against suffering and as the only sublunary force able to defeat oblivion.

A few examples of Massolo's Horatian thematic memories provide evidence of the strong relation existing between the Venetian moral poet and the Latin lyricist. In the sonnet 'A che voler tanti mari solcare', which opens the series of Horatian texts dealing with behavioural subjects, Massolo states that people who try to escape from themselves by going from one place to another always tire themselves out in vain.

¹⁶⁹ On his biography it is still valid to see Mariano Armellini, *Bibliotheca Benedictino Cassinensis*, 6 vols (Assisi: Feliciani-Campitelli, 1731-1736), II, 70. For a short bibliographical note see Brusciagli, 'La preponderanza petrarchista', 1596 n. 47.

¹⁷⁰ *Rime morali di messer Pietro Massolo gentiluomo Vinitiano, hora don Lorenzo monaco cassinese. Divise in quattro libri, col commento di messer Francesco Sansovino* (Venice: Rampazzetto, 1583). On Massolo's writing process see Brusciagli, 'La preponderanza petrarchista', 1597.

This idea is derived from and articulated according to the structure of *Carm.* II, 16, which is the subtext also of another sonnet on the same topic, ‘Il mutar luogo non fa l’uomo migliore’. The poems ‘Quante anime gentil furon giammai’, and ‘L’alte e gran sorti son esposte a’ venti’, on the other hand, deal with the necessity of living modestly according to the modes of the *aurea mediocritas*, the golden mean, whose precepts the author invites his readers to follow, reminding them that those who are more eminent are also more exposed to perils and suffering. In other texts, such as ‘L’uomo vuol saper del Ciel l’alte cagioni’, or ‘Lo uomo sovente dice s’io sapessi’, the author invites his readers to a different form of moderation, that of the mind, when he shows the useless arrogance of those who try to probe celestial matters, through the images and features derived from Horace’s *Carm.* I, 11, 1-2 and II, 11, 11-12. Massolo deals also with more worldly topics, such as the convenience of avoiding the plebs and its depraved behaviour (in ‘La bella libertà che ogni huom desia’, and ‘Chi de la fama entrar vuol l’ampia porta’), or the opportuneness of not ridiculing others (in the sonnet ‘Homo si ride ognor de l’uomo stolto’). In another short series of texts the Venetian poet praises both the civilizing and the immortalizing power of poetry, drawing precise images from Horatian odes, such as in the sonnet ‘Quanti in guerra fur già, esperti al mondo’, whose modes and forms are taken from *Carm.* IV, 9.

Horace can also serve as a source from which to derive specific rhetorical patterns or stylistic features. This happens, for example, in the poem ‘Non d’Asia il grande incendio in stil soprano’, which adapts the *priamel* scheme, in the sonnet ‘Or anche s’ode suon soave e dolce’, whose opening is structured on *Carm.* I, 37, and in the text ‘Canti d’amor chi è servo d’amore’, which closely echoes the pattern of

Carm. I, 7. If the Horatian lesson often overlaps with the Christian teachings that Massolo wants to convey, in some other cases it is evident that the Horatian elements are simple textual memories, which structure a discourse that is proper to the Counter-Reformation. One text which particularly displays this trend is the sonnet ‘O felice colui ch’in timor vive’, where the modes of the second epode are intertwined with praise of awe and reverence.¹⁷¹

Finally, it is appropriate to focus on one last example of the Venetian reception of Horace, in which the Latin poet served a fundamental role both in the moral and philosophical development of the poetic discourse, and in the evolution of the forms of his amatory and epistolary texts. The literary work I am referring to is the book of rhymes by Celio Magno (1536-1602), one of the most eminent Petrarchists of the whole Cinquecento.¹⁷² Magno matured as a poet in the Venier academy. In his whole production he made the most of the literary training and teaching he received in that privileged cultural milieu.¹⁷³ As mentioned above, the Venier circle was faithful to

¹⁷¹ ‘O felice colui ch’in timor vive / perché vive felice nel timore, / perché il timor rende le voglie schive / dal mal oprare, et tiene in pace il core’ (ll. 1-4).

¹⁷² *Rime di Celio Magno et Orsatto Giustinian* (Venice: Muschio, 1600). On the textual history of Magno’s *Canzoniere* see Francesco Erspamer, ‘Per un’edizione critica delle rime di Celio Magno’, *SFI*, 41 (1983) 45-72; and Id. ‘Lo scrittoio di Celio Magno’, in *Il libro di poesia dal copista al tipografo*, pp. 243-50. On Magno’s poetic work see Antonio Pilot, ‘Le canzoni di Celio Magno in relazione colla lirica veneta del tempo’, *Ateneo Veneto*, 32 (1909), 117-308; Riccardo Scrivano, ‘La lirica dal Casa al Magno’, in Id., *Il manierismo nella letteratura del Cinquecento* (Padua: Liviana Editrice, 1959), pp. 75-108; Cesare Galimberti, ‘Disegno petrarchesco e tradizione sapienziale in Celio Magno’, in *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto*, pp. 315-32; Giuseppina Stella Galbiati, ‘Contributo per Celio Magno: una lettura della canzone *Deus*, insieme ai suoi antichi commentatori’, in *Studi di onomastica e letteratura offerti a Bruno Porcelli*, ed. by Davide De Camilli (Pisa-Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale, 2006), pp. 129-44; Id., ‘Epilogo sacro e libro: alcune considerazioni sulle *Rime* di Celio Magno’, in *Autorità, modelli e antimodelli nella cultura artistica e letteraria tra Riforma e Controriforma. Atti del seminario internazionale di studi, Urbino-Sassocorvaro, 9-11 novembre 2006*, ed. by Antonio Corsaro, Harald Hendrix, and Paolo Procaccioli (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 2007), pp. 369-85; Giacomo Comiati, ‘“Benché ’l sol decline vince un sol raggio suo tutte le stelle”. La parabola amorosa nelle *Rime* di Celio Magno’, *Italique*, 17 (2014), 104-40; and Andrea Campana, ‘Ipotesi di lettura sul macrotesto delle *Rime* (1600) di Celio Magno’, *SPCT*, 89 (2014), 211-52.

¹⁷³ On Magno’s link with Venetian culture see Cesare Galimberti, ‘Celio Magno e il petrarchismo veneto’, in *Crisi e rinnovamento nell’autunno del Rinascimento a Venezia*, ed. by Vittore Branca and

the Bembian modes and genres, but, at the same time, was open to personal lyrical experimentation and always had a particular interest in Latin literature (and Horace in particular) as a source from which to derive stylistic features and subjects. Magno's personal attraction to the Latin poet must have combined with the examples of Horatian reception the Venier academy provided him. This contributed to making the author of the *Odes* a well-defined point of reference for the Venetian poet. In his works (published in 1600) Magno proved a significant number of times closely to follow Horatian modes.¹⁷⁴ He opened his *Canzoniere* with praise of poetry 'aere perennius' (more long-lasting than bronze) according not only to some images drawn from *Carm.* III, 30, and IV, 9, but also according to a formal pattern that echoed that of *Carm.* I, 1 and I, 7. He was able to emulate particularly marginal Horatian texts, such as *Epod.* 10, which was the point of reference both in terms of structure and features for his poem 18, 'Sembrin le piume tue pungenti spine', an invective against a bed that had probably been the silent witness of the betrayal of the poet's beloved. And, at the same time, Magno echoed much more well-known Horatian texts, such as those concerning the *carpe diem* trope, which are evoked in his sonnet 67, 'Di notte in braccio al mio tesoro godea', or the trope of the rebirth of love in the poet's mature years (*Carm.* IV, 1) in the text 111, 'Già non usato ardor nel freddo petto'.

Nevertheless, the most striking and original element that Magno drew from Horace was the philosophical itinerary developed in the first part of his

Carlo Ossola (Florence: Olschki, 1991), pp. 359-72; and Ettore Bonora, 'Celio Magno e la lirica alla fine del secolo', in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. by Emilio Cecchi e Natalino Sapegno, 14 vols (Milan: Garzanti, 1965-2005), IV (*Il Cinquecento*), 546-50.

¹⁷⁴ On Magno's reception of Horace see Giacomo Comiati, 'Presenze oraziane nelle *Rime* di Celio Magno', in *Canzonieri in transito. Lasciti petrarcheschi e nuovi archetipi letterari tra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. by Alessandro Metlica and Franco Tomasi (Milan: Mimesis, 2015), pp. 31-46.

Canzoniere.¹⁷⁵ Surprisingly, in fact, Magno's book of rhymes did not begin with texts that dealt with the poet's feelings and his love-pains, but, on the contrary, with a series of meditative compositions on humanity's destiny and condition. First, Magno invites his readers to consider their mortal fate as human beings, and to be aware that life is composed of few moments of joy scattered amongst many tribulations (sonnets 2, 3 and 4). The poet, then, indicates three possible cures for life's sufferings: retiring to a *locus amoenus* (texts 5 and 6), living righteously since virtue protects and comforts from any oppression or pain (sonnet 7), and leading a peaceful existence with true friends (texts 11-13). After that, Magno devotes a set of compositions to scorning false glories and mourning the transience of human life. Only after this does he organize his poetic discourse in accordance to the more traditional forms of Petrarchist love and spiritual poems.

The philosophical framework of Magno's opening series of texts, as well as the themes he developed, prove how important Horace was in the Venetian author's poetical discourse. Horace offered, in fact, not only the majority of the subjects of Magno's meditative itinerary (which echo and allude to *Carm.* I, 4; II, 3; II, 11; II, 14; IV, 7), but also the modes according to which he structured the evolution of his reflections. In Magno's *Canzoniere*, even more extensively and profoundly than in other sixteenth-century books of rhymes, the Horatian example becomes a genuine constitutive element of the author's whole poetical work, present and visible at all levels, and not merely a source from which to derive forms and modes.

¹⁷⁵ See Comiati, "'Benché 'l sol decline'", 105-06.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that there is a constant and multifaceted reception of Horace throughout the sixteenth century, in all the literary fields covered by this investigation, from satires in verse to metrical epistles, from vernacular odes to poetry in ‘barbaric metrics’, from Petrarchan lyrics to moral poems. However, the fortune of the Latin author unavoidably had a distinctive development in each of the different poetical genres I have analysed. Italian satire had in the Horatian texts its main or secondary model (as we have seen, respectively, in Ariosto’s works and in Alamanni’s) only for a short period of time, corresponding to the first decades of the Cinquecento, mainly due to the fact that the characteristics and tones of the Horatian satire could be properly articulated only in the specific social and cultural context of the late-humanistic courts, a context which lasted only for a short season in the sixteenth century. Later on, those who decided to devote themselves to the satirical genre needed to refer to other literary authorities, such as that of Juvenal, or to the modern example of Berni.

On the other hand, the fortune of Horace in Italian lyrics was much more long-lasting and widespread. The liberty that characterized the Italian lyrical genre during the first three decades of the Cinquecento, until the complete diffusion of Bembo’s precepts, allowed poets to conduct a great deal of lively and dynamic literary research and experimentation in order both to try to reform (or even renew) the traditional Petrarchan modes by employing new metrical patterns and forms derived from the Horatian works and adapted to the vernacular verses, and to create completely new Italian metres based on the features of Latin antecedents. In both

cases, the results were outstanding in terms of the stylistic and metrical innovation and the literary novelty of the works. Nevertheless, many of these experiments (such as the 'barbaric metrics' of Tolomei's *Versi e regole de la nuova poesia toscana*) either had mediocre success and ceased to be practised after their publication, or they were never printed, sometimes because the author did not manage to prepare his texts for publication (as probably happened to Trivulzio), but also, and more interestingly (at least from the point of view of the cultural history of the century), because, at the moment of choosing the texts to print, the poet must have considered his metrical experiments as belonging to an earlier literary season and decided to link his literary fortune to the newly-established poetical forms (as Varchi presumably did). Only in one case, that of Bernardo Tasso, was an author determined to make public his vernacular odes through the means of print. He did not simply devote himself to a new metric form, which explicitly had its point of reference and main model in the Horatian lyrical works, but, both before the establishment of the Bembian literary proposal and also after that moment, up to the 1560s he continued experimenting with new structures and metrical schemes. Tasso's production offers us a clear example of one of those pockets of literary resistance to the various Petrarchisms which had a Bembian matrix and were widespread during the sixteenth century.

Horace was not only a model for those who practised poetical forms outside the boundaries of Petrarchism, but also for the more traditional (and numerous) followers of Bembo's teachings. The Latin author was seen as a source of forms and modes, and from his works many poets derived rhetorical patterns, stylistic features, and thematic subjects, which they adapted in the Petrarchan genres. These reception practices (whose range expanded from the simple allusion to an Horatian expression

or scheme to the close emulation of entire lyrics) found legitimation in the literary habits of Petrarch himself, who had in Horace one of his most esteemed lyrical reference points, and were later validated also by the poetic practices of Bembo and Sannazaro, the two founding fathers of sixteenth-century Petrarchism. It has also been remarkable to discover that the Italian lyricists of the Cinquecento realized the possibility of deriving forms and modes from the Latin author, but in the majority of cases they did not imitate those Horatian texts, which enriched the poetical dictions of Petrarch, Bembo or Sannazaro. Their use of the Latin poet, in fact, did not move from the imitation of previous vernacular models that referred to Horace, but mainly from a direct and first-hand knowledge and habitual reading of his works.

Obviously, not every Petrarchist employed features drawn from Horace at the same level and for the same purposes. References to the Latin author often aimed to embellish the composition or to make the poetic texts more solemn or learned. However, Horatian thematic and textual memories were not infrequently used either in order to enrich the new poems with secondary meanings evoked by allusions to the Horatian works, or to tinge certain lyrics with fresh and unprecedented tonalities, which otherwise would have simply expressed customary commonplaces (as in the case of Ariosto, Alamanni, Bembo, and Tansillo for the love poems, or of Alamanni, Sannazaro, and Minturno for the encomiastic ones). Horatian references could even be used to give a more intense and profound voice to personal meditations over philosophical and moral matters (such as in the works by Della Casa, Molino, Magno, and Massolo). Furthermore, during the second half of the century, while the broad scheme of Petrarch's book of rhymes (with its itinerary thought love towards a spiritual conversion) was progressively followed by fewer and fewer poets, Horace's

corpus provided some authors with new macro-textual patterns according to which they could structure their own collections of poems. Some shored up the key texts of their *Canzoniere* with explicit re-modulations of Horatian odes in order to give a rhythm to the volume (such as Minturno and Piccolomini); others organized their whole work in accordance with the structure of the Latin poet's corpus (such as Muzio); still others derived from Horatian themes a vast range of meditative texts through which they could structure the philosophical opening sections of their book of rhymes (such as Magno). My tripartite geographical approach has allowed us to see that all these tendencies were widespread throughout the Peninsula.

Finally, this investigation has shown that the fortunes of the Latin poet and the various forms of reception of his texts did not decrease over the course of the Cinquecento, but, on the contrary, became more polyvalent and multi-layered, despite changes in some imitative forms. This detail is particularly relevant since it demonstrates that the rediscovery of the pseudo-Anacreontic odes (brought back to light by Robert Estienne in 1551 in Leuven),¹⁷⁶ an event that could have severely interfered with the fortunes of Horatian poetry in the second half of the century, neither eclipsed the reception of the Latin poet, nor overwhelmed his role as a lyrical model. The *Anacreontea* (the pseudo-Anacreontic lyrics),¹⁷⁷ which were considered Anacreon's original compositions by their re-discoverer and many of his contemporaries, were published in 1554 and had great resonance in the French

¹⁷⁶ *Anacreontis Teij Odae*, ed. by Robert Etienne (Paris: Robert Etienne, 1554). For an overview of Etienne's editorial work see *Henri II Estienne, éditeur et écrivain*, ed. by Judit Kecskeméti, Bénédicte Boudou, Jean Céard and Hélène Cazes (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003); Paul White, 'Printing Centres—Estienne Family', in *BENLW*, II, 1155-56; and Id., 'Printing Centres—Paris', 1161-63.

¹⁷⁷ On the *Anacreontea* see *Carmina Anacreontea*, ed. by Martin West (Leipzig: Teubner, 1984); Martin West, 'The *Anacreontea*', in *Sympotica*, ed. by Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 272-76; and Felix Budelmann, 'Anacreon and the *Anacreontea*', in *Cambridge Companion to Greek Lyric*, ed. by Felix Budelmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 227-39.

cultural world, above all in the circle of *La Pléiade*, whose experimentation in terms of metres and forms found in these texts one of their main points of reference.¹⁷⁸

Although *La Pléiade* had some influence on the Italian literary scene, the poetic impact of the *Anacreontea* was much more modest in Italy than in France, at least until the last decades of the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁹ Setting apart thematic innovations, which were ultimately not many, given that the *Anacreontea* dealt mostly with topics that could already be found in Horace's odes, the foremost novelty of these ancient texts was their metrical potential. But in the mid-Cinquecento Italy the Bembian lesson was still too omnipresent and deeply-rooted to allow lyrical compositions to use lines other than the hendecasyllable and *settenario* – even Bernardo Tasso never broke this law. Moreover, in the second half of the century many forms of literary intemperance could find a sort of safety valve in the always-increasing poetic liberty that the madrigal form granted. For this reason the *Anacreontea* had scarce success in the Italian Peninsula up to the late 1580s, when their potentialities began to be tested thanks to the experimentations of Gabriello Chiabrera (1552-1638). Chiabrera, influenced by *La Pléiade*, expanded the Italian metrical range by composing poems that modulated the schemes of Pindar, Horace and Anacreon, reopening the so-called

¹⁷⁸ On the discovery and the French reception of the *Anacreontea* see, among the others, Jules Labarbe, 'Un curieux phénomène littéraire, l'anacréontisme', *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 68 (1982), 146-81; Patricia Rosenmeyer, *The Poetics of Imitation. Anacreon and the Anacreontic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Id., 'The Greek Anacreontics and Sixteenth-Century French Lyric Poetry', in *The Classical Heritage in France*, ed. by Gerald Sandy (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 393-424; and John O'Brien, *Anacreon Redivivus: A Study of Anacreontic Translation in Mid-Sixteenth-Century France* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1995).

¹⁷⁹ On this topic see Mario Pozzi, 'I modelli e le regole', in *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, VII.2, 843-901 (pp. 889-95). The scholar explicitly stated that 'nel maturo e nel tardo Cinquecento, se si fa eccezione per Aristotele e per il trattato *Del sublime*, l'influenza della cultura greca in Italia si riduce a poca cosa' (p. 890).

literary ‘plan of *inventio*’.¹⁸⁰ Chiabrera’s example would prove fundamental for the poets of the seventeenth century, but he represented a sort of *unicum* in the Italian late-Cinquecento panorama.

180 On the influence of *La Pléiade* on Chiabrera Ferdinando Neri, *Il Chiabrera e la Pleiade francese* (Turin: Bocca, 1920) is still important. See also Enea Balmas, ‘Pléiade’, in *EO*, III, 432. On Chiabrera’s metrical experimentations see Carducci, ‘Dello svolgimento dell’ode in Italia’, pp. 1408-26; Luigi Cerisola, *L’arte dello stile. Poesie e letterarietà in Gabriello Chiabrera* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1990); Beltrami, *La metrica italiana*, pp. 351-53 and 364-71; and Guido Capovilla, ‘Carducci, Giosuè’, in *EO*, III, 152-55 (p. 153-54). On the relationship between Chiabrera and Horace see Quinto Marini, ‘Orazio e i *Sermoni* di Gabriello Chiabrera’, in *OLI*, pp. 241-76.

5. RENAISSANCE NEO-LATIN IMITATORS OF HORACE

This chapter analyses the various forms of Horace's *fortuna* in Neo-Latin poetical works, composed during the last decades of the Quattrocento and throughout the Cinquecento. I have mainly organized my analysis around specific geographical centres; this approach will help to distinguish both the characteristics and the outcomes of Horatian imitation across the Italian Peninsula. This geographical approach will also be particularly useful in order to chart the different literary practices that were taking place in various Italian milieux. Given that one of the most relevant characteristics of the humanists is their mobility, the regions I have identified do not have overly closed borders. I have tried to connect each figure to the most relevant and influential area in terms of education and literary influence, but sometimes the connections of a single author with more than one background are so close and manifold that I have associated him with more than one cultural milieu. I have also taken chronological factors into consideration. Because the literary heyday of humanistic poetry mainly took place during the late-fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, the main part of this chapter concentrates on this time period, while only the last section has been devoted to the Neo-Latin works of the second half of the Cinquecento.

According to these two regulating principles, this chapter first analyses Horace's *fortuna* between the 1480s and the 1520s in Florence (5.1), Naples (5.2), Bologna,

Ferrara (5.3), Rome, and Venice (5.4), respectively examining, among the many others, the works by Cristoforo Landino and Angelo Poliziano, Giovanni Pontano and Jacopo Sannazaro, Ludovico Ariosto and Filippo Beroaldo the Younger, Benedetto Lampridio and Pietro Bembo. It then focuses on Horace's cultural importance in the Veneto region throughout the first half of the sixteenth century (5.4), taking into consideration the production of authors, such as Andrea Navagero, Giovanni Cotta, and Girolamo Amalteo. Finally, section 5.5 examines the reception of Horace's example all over Italy in the mid- and late Cinquecento, through the analysis of the works by several poets (e.g., Lorenzo Frizolio, Bernardino Partenio and Giovanni Paolo Cesario). In the vast majority of cases analysed, the imitation of Horace is associated with that of other classical authors. This cannot be considered a sign of Horace's scarce importance – on the contrary, he was outstandingly significant (above all in the early sixteenth century) – but simply the result of one of the founding principles of humanistic poetic practice, that of aiming to compose innovative and original texts through the combination of literary elements and features drawn from different classical authorities.¹

¹ On this trait of humanistic poetry see Luigi Russo, *Problemi di metodo critico*, 2nd Ed. (Bari: Laterza, 1950); Carlo Vecce, 'La poesia latina', in *Manuale di letteratura italiana. Storia per generi e problemi*, ed. by Franco Brioschi and Costanzo Di Girolamo, 4 vols (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1993-1996), II, 256-70; Jozef Ijsewijn, 'Language, Style, Prosody, and Metrics', in Id. with Dirk Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 2 vols (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990-98), II, 377-433 (pp. 412-19); and Victoria Moul, 'Lyric Poetry', in *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin Studies*, pp. 41-56.

5.1 FLORENCE BETWEEN LANDINO AND POLIZIANO

During the middle decades of the Quattrocento Horace progressively became an important model for Italian humanists, who studied and appreciated not only the sententious tones of his hexametrical production, but also the lyrical devices of his *Carmina*, thanks to a better understanding of the Latin author's corpus gained through humanist philology.² In these years Cristoforo Landino (1424-1498) – who would later play a fundamental role as the first modern exegete to write a commentary on Horace – demonstrated his affinity with the Latin author in his Neo-Latin compositions, written before he began his career as a professor at the *studium* in Florence in 1458.³ Landino's interest in Horace had its roots in his early education⁴ and was partially displayed in his collection of Latin poems, entitled *Xandra* after the name of Landino's beloved who was at the centre of the work. The title of the collection, as well as the fact that the majority of the compositions are in

² See above, chapter 2. See also Luigi Castiglione, *Lezioni sulla lirica di Orazio* (Milan: Montuoro, 1942); Jurgen Leonhardt, 'Dimensio syllabarum': *Studien zur lateinischen Prosodie und Verslehre von der Spätantike bis zur frühen Renaissance: mit einem ausführlichen Quellenverzeichnis bis zum Jahr 1600* (Göttingen: Vanhoeck-Ruprecht, 1989), IURILLI, p. 26-29; and Jean-Louis Charlet, 'Les mètres sapphiques et alcaïques à l'époque humaniste', *Faventia*, 29.2 (2007), 133-55.

³ According to Gino Bottiglioni, *La lirica latina in Firenze nella seconda metà del secolo XV* (Pisa: Stabilimento Tipografico Nistri, 1913), pp. 16-21, the three books that compose Landino's *Xandra* were respectively composed in the years 1443-1445, 1446-1449, and 1451-1458. The collection *Xandra*, divided in three books and dedicated to Piero de' Medici, was the second version of Landino's Latin book of rhymes. The first version can be read in Antonia Wenzel, *Die Xandra-Gedichte des Cristoforo Landino* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2010), while the final version of the *Xandra* can be read in Cristoforo Landino, *Carmina omnia*, ed. by Alessandro Perosa (Florence: Olschki, 1939); and Id., *Poems*, ed. by Mary P. Chatfield, The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA-London: Harvard University Press, 2008). On the *Xandra* see Roberto Cardini, 'Landino e Lorenzo', *LI*, 3 (1993), 361-75; Frank La Brasca, "'Quomodo sacrum fontem de petra sive petro deducere': la *Xandra* de Cristoforo Landino, un recueil poétique médicéen?", *La Licorne*, 46 (1998), 241-55; Jean-Louis Charlet, 'État présent prospectif des recherches sur les poèmes de Cristoforo Landino', in *Text – Interpretation – Vergleich. Festschrift für Manfred Lentzen zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Joachim Leeker and Elisabeth Leeker (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2005), pp. 151-68; Christopher Pieper, *Elegos redolere Vergiliosque sapere. Cristoforo Landinos Xandra zwischen Liebe und Gesellschaft* (Hildesheim-Zurich-New York: Olms, 2008); and Id., 'Genre-Negotiations. Cristoforo Landino's *Xandra* between elegy and epigram', in *The Neo-Latin Epigram. A Learned and Witty Genre*, ed. by Susanna De Beer, Karl Enenkel, and David Rijser (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009), pp. 165-90.

⁴ See above, section 1.2 and 2.1.

elegiac couplets, might suggest that Landino's poetical work is a mere elegiac volume, composed on the basis and the example of the Latin poets. However, this is not entirely true. The love poems to Xandra occupy a relevant section of the work, but, following the model of previous humanist poets, who accentuated some of the traits of Propertius's *Monobiblos*, Landino included in his elegiac couplets many topics that were not part of traditional elegiac poetics, but were customarily more proper to the epigrammatic genre. For example, his texts also include *encomia*, discussions of political matters, celebrations of Landino's household and that of his patron Piero de' Medici. Hence the volume includes many interlocutors and addressees (above all in the last of the three books of the *Xandra*). Nevertheless, the love affair between the poet and his beloved is not a minor aspect of the work, since Landino sketches in his texts all the commonplaces of an elegiac affair, even though he sometimes tinges his poems with Petrarchan tonalities. By so doing, Landino not only reveals the entire range of his poetical preferences, which he later transformed into exegetical predilections, but also some concrete forms of permeability between his Latin and vernacular models. Unusually, he considered them equally worthy of being both imitated and mutually influential.

In Landino's *Xandra* a plurality of metrical schemes correspond to the described variety of topics. In addition to elegiac couplets, Landino here uses the hexameter (*Xandra* I, 7 e III, 16) and two lyrical metres, the Phalacian hendecasyllable (I, 13 and I, 26) and the Sapphic strophe (I, 22, I, 25, I, 27, and I, 30). This choice may appear unorthodox for an elegiac collection, but Landino may have found a precedent in Catullus's *Liber*, which in the Quattrocento was considered an elegiac volume where compositions modulated in several different

interchanged metres.⁵ But Horace was also an important model. Indeed, while the reference for the texts written in Phalecian verses was certainly Catullus, in his Aeolic compositions Landino had the option of following either Catullus or Horace. The metrical traits and the pattern of his Sapphic strophes suggest that the most probable model for these compositions was Horace. First, in these texts Landino employed three clear metrical features that Catullus often avoided, such as the regular coincidence between stanzas and sentences, the penthemimeral caesura (respected in all the first three lines of each strophe), and the regular use of two words to compose the Adonius verse that closes each Sapphic stanza. These traits were much more constantly employed by Horace, whose example, in the perfectly regularized form shaped by late Latin poets (such as Statius), Landino follows.⁶ Secondly, the modes according to which the Florentine poet organizes the strophes of his Sapphic compositions closely echo the patterns of many Horatian Aeolic *carmina*. In Landino's poem I, 30 ('Ad Iohannem Antonium'), written in Sapphic forms, where the author invites his friend Giovanni Antonio to write to him and tell him what he is doing, the humanist evokes possible scenes in which Giovanni might find himself (e.g., the fatiguing civic life in Florence, or pleasant retirement in the countryside). The pattern employed (i.e., the syntactic structure 'seu [...] seu') and situations described closely derive from Horace's *Carm.* I, 7, 17-21, where the Latin poet invites his friend Plancus to put an end to his sufferings wherever he may be.⁷

⁵ See Jean-Louis Charlet, 'La marque de Catulle sur la renaissance de l'élégie latine au Quattrocento (Beccadelli, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Landino)', in *Présence de Catulle et des élégiaques latins. A Raymond Chevallier in memoriam. Actes du colloque tenu à Tours (28 – 30 novembre 2002)*, ed. by Rémy Poignault (Clermond-Ferrand: Centre de recherches A. Piganiol – Présence de l'Antiquité, 2005), pp. 283-94 (pp. 283-84).

⁶ Statius's regularized Sapphic strophe is defined 'hyper-classique' by Jean-Louis Charlet, 'Les mètres sapphiques et alcaïques à l'époque humaniste', 133-55. See pp. 134-35 for the metrical characteristics of the normalized Sapphic strophe.

⁷ Hor. *Carm.* I, 7, 17-21, 'tu sapiens finire memento / tristitiam vitaeque labores / molli, Plance, mero,

Equally the Sapphic lyric I, 22 ('Laudes Dianae') is shaped in accordance with Horatian forms. The poem is an ode the author addresses to the goddess Diana to thank her for having saved his beloved during childbirth. The choice of the Sapphic metre to raise a hymn to a divinity is one of the most traditional features of Horace's poetry, whose example Landino follows in this text. Moreover, Diana's praises are shaped according to the scheme Horace employed in his ode to Mercury (*Carm.* I, 10), in which each strophe depicts a specific glorious action of the god. The Florentine author does not simply reproduce this pattern, but enriches it with some further Horatian references. In the opening lines the invocation to the goddess echoes *Carm.* III, 22, addressed to Diana. Furthermore, Landino quotes and reproduces other Horatian passages in his poems, both in the form of precise quotations,⁸ and as literary subtexts. An example of the latter strategy is the two poems III, 15 and III, 16, where Landino justifies his choice to address minor subjects in his verses instead of celebrating Piero de' Medici in epic tones. Both these texts follow the stylistic traits and modes of the Horatian recusal ode, *Carm.* I, 6.⁹

Landino's poetical activity, veined with Horatian tonalities, is only one of the first signs of a progressively deeper interest in the lyrical production of the Latin poet in the humanistic literary scene. In the same years in which Landino wrote his *Xandra*, another Italian author raised Horatian imitation to an unprecedented level.

seu te fulgentia signis / castra tenent seu densa tenebit // Tiburis umbra tui' (so Plancus, my friend, remember to end a sad life and your troubles, wisely, with sweet wine, whether it is the camp, and gleaming standards, that hold you or the deep shadows of your own Tibur).

⁸ Examples of Landino's quotations of Horace's poems are, for instance, two verses of *Xandra*, I, 25: l. 3 ('floribus pingit, fugiuntque nubes') and l. 9 ('concidunt venti, levis afflat aura') evidently cites *Carm.* I, 12, 30 ('coccidunt venti fugiuntque nubes').

⁹ See CURCIO, pp. 64-65.

Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481)¹⁰ was the first humanist to reproduce all the metrical schemes of the Latin lyricist's corpus in his poetical production, and he also invented new metrical forms.¹¹ His metrical virtuosity found an immediate echo in the literary works of other poets, such as in Matteo Maria Boiardo's 'Carmina de laudibus Estensium' (written in the mid-1460s),¹² and Pietro Crinito's *Poematum libri duo* (analysed below). Filelfo's poems also bear witness to a vast re-utilization of Horatian content. Although his one hundred satires present stylistic traits closer to Juvenal than to Horace, his fifty odes, articulated in five books, witness his profound and multi-layered literary imitation of the Latin lyricist. In his *Odae* (composed mainly between 1449 and 1454), Filelfo dealt with a vast range of topics, following the example of his model (from encomiastic subjects to historical-political ones, from gnomic matters to moral themes, and even a few love texts).

Following Landino's interest in Horace and Filelfo's more explicit and articulated reception, in the third quarter of the fifteenth century many other writers decided to take Horace as their model. In Florence (where Landino's poetry was read

¹⁰ On Filelfo see Carlo De Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo da Tolentino*, 3 vols (Milan: Mussi, 1808); Giuseppe Zippel, *Il Filelfo a Firenze (1429-1434)* (Rome: Bocca, 1899); Revilo Pendleton Olivier, 'The Satires of Filelfo', *Italica*, 26 (1949), 23-46; Eugenio Garin, 'La cultura milanese nella seconda metà del XV secolo', in *Storia di Milano*, 16 vols (Milan: Fondazione Traciani degli Alfieri per la storia di Milano, 1953-1966), VII, 539-97 (pp. 541-61); Germano Gualdo, *Francesco Filelfo e la curia pontificia: una carriera mancata* (Rome: Società romana di storia patria, 1979); *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte. Atti del diciassettesimo convegno di studi maceratesi, Tolentino, 27-30 settembre 1981* (Padua: Antenore, 1986); Gabriella Albanese, 'Le raccolte poetiche latine di Francesco Filelfo', in *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte*, pp. 389-458; Vincenzo Fera, 'Itinerari filologici di Francesco Filelfo', in *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte*, pp. 89-138; Diana Robin, *Filelfo in Milan: writings 1451-1477* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1991); Paolo Viti, 'Filelfo, Francesco', in *DBI*, XLVII (1997), 613-26; and Gabriella Albanese, 'Filelfo, Francesco', in *EO*, III, 223-26.

¹¹ The whole corpus of Filelfo's Latin works is described in Jeroen De Keyser and Ide François, 'Incipitarius Philelfianum. A Guide to the Works of Francesco Filelfo', *Camena*, 17 (2015), 1-72. A modern edition of the *Odae* is in Francesco Filelfo, *Odes*, ed. by Diana Robin, The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA-London: Harvard University Press, 2009). On Filelfo's metrical skills see Albanese, 'Filelfo, Francesco', 224; and Mauro De Nichilo, 'Un canzoniere oraziano', in Francesco Ottavio Cleofilo, *Iulia*, ed. by Mauro De Nichilo (Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici, 2000), pp. 9-102 (p. 42).

¹² See De Nichilo, 'Un canzoniere oraziano', p. 43 n. 1.

and appreciated and, above all, his university teachings cast a new light on Horace's works) in the late 1460s two poets dedicated their collections of Latin rhymes to Piero de' Medici, both clearly composed in accordance to Horatian modes. They were Antonio Geraldini (1448-1489)¹³ and Francesco Ottavio Cleofilo (1447-1490).¹⁴ Both probably derived their knowledge of and interest in the Latin author through the lessons in Fano of Giacomo and Antonio Costanzi, to whom Niccolò Perotti sent his treatise on the Horatian metres as early as the mid-1450s.¹⁵ Geraldini's first collection of Latin texts testifies to his interest in writing his verses in rigorous accordance with Horatian metres. Indeed, the twenty-five odes that form this work, addressed to Pope Paul II in 1467-1468, exclusively follow the metrical models provided by Horace's lyrical production. The humanist demonstrated his poetical skills in composing not only Sapphic or Alcaic strophes, but also texts in all the Asclepiadean, Archilochian and Pithyambic systems, as well as in Epodic, Hipponactean, and major Sapphic metres.¹⁶ He demonstrates his assiduous attention to the Latin poet by quoting many of his syntagms, by alluding to the rhetorical traits of his model's odes, and also composing some of his poems following specific Horatian features. Two texts offer an interesting example of these trends. In ode 6, for example, Geraldini uses *Carm.* IV, 2 as a structural model for his refusal to praise Cardinal Latino Orsini through the genre of epic; he justifies his decision by

¹³ On Geraldini see Alfonso Lazzari, *Ugolino e Michele Verino. Studi biografici e critici* (Turin: Clausen, 1897), pp. 192-93; John F. Richards, 'Some Early Poems of Antonio Geraldini', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 13 (1966), 123-46; Francesco Bausi, 'Geraldini, Antonio', in *DBI*, LIII (2000), 321-24; and Id., 'Geraldini, Antonio', in *EO*, II, 243-44.

¹⁴ On Cleofilo see Mauro De Nichilo, 'L'autore', in Cleofilo, *Iulia*, pp. 103-23.

¹⁵ On the presence of Perotti's *De generis metrorum* in the school of Costanzi in Fano see De Nichilo, 'Un canzoniere oraziano', pp. 46-47. For Geraldini's attendance at the Costanzi's school see Antonio Geraldini, *Vita di monsignor Angelo Geraldini* (Perugia: Boncompagni, 1895), p. 7; on Cleofilo's attendance see De Nichilo, 'L'autore', pp. 104-05 and n. 2.

¹⁶ Geraldini's *Carmina* to Pope Paul II can be read in Antonio Geraldini, *Specimen carminum*, ed. by Belisario Geraldini (Amelia: Petrignani, 1893), pp. 1-45. On Geraldini's first collection of Latin poems see Bausi, 'Geraldini, Antonio', 243.

maintaining that he is apter to write lyrical verses rather than epic ones. In ode 19, Geraldini affirms that lyric poets are not unworthy of being compared to Homer or Virgil, echoing Horace's *Carm.* IV, 9, 5-12. However, despite these correspondences, the most interesting trait of Geraldini's reception of Horace is his use of the classical model's metres to deal with topics that are completely extraneous to those metrical forms. In the majority of his production, in fact, Geraldini deals with encomiastic and even Christian subjects in the classical forms of the *Odes* and *Epodes*. This happens not only in his first collection, dedicated to the pope, but also in the 1468 *Liber Carminum*, addressed to Piero de' Medici, and in his two books of *Carmina*, printed in Rome between 1484 and 1486.¹⁷ In the latter work Geraldini celebrates eminent members of both the papal and the Spanish court, always adapting the Horatian metres, traditionally associated with other topics, to contemporary encomiastic purposes. The same combination of conventional metrical schemes and untraditional subjects is displayed in the *Epodon Liber primus*, printed in Rome in 1485-86;¹⁸ in this work, Geraldini first paraphrases the Psalms and then composes new religious hymns, all of these in iambic metre.¹⁹

The use of the Horatian lyrical forms to deal with topics that were traditionally proper to other genres is also a trait of the work of Francesco Ottavio Cleofilo, who also dedicated his Latin poems to Piero de' Medici. In the second half of the 1460s Cleofilo composed a collection of twenty-two Latin poems, entitled *Iulia*.²⁰ In his

¹⁷ *Antonii Geraldini Amerini Liber carminum ad magnificum Petrum Medicem Florentinum* (Rome: Silber, 1484-1486). The *Liber carminum* can now be read in Richards, 'Some Early Poems', 131-43.

¹⁸ *Antonii Geraldini Amerini Epodon Liber primus* (Rome: Silber, 1485-1486).

¹⁹ The same happens in the Geraldini's *Bucolicon Carmen* (Rome: Silber, 1485), composed of 12 eclogues, where the Virgilian forms and modes are re-employed to deal with religious topics. See Bausi, 'Geraldini, Antonio', 243. For an outline of the literary phenomenon of the paraphrases of the Psalms, see Roger P. H. Green, 'Poetic Psalm Paraphrases', in *BENLW*, I, 461-69.

²⁰ The critical and commented edition of this work is in Cleofilo, *Iulia*, pp. 171-219.

libellus the author illustrates his love affair with the woman from whom the poetical work takes its name and who is the sole protagonist of the whole corpus of texts (in contrast to other humanistic collections of love poems, such as Piccolomini's *Cinthia*, Landino's *Xandra* and Verino's *Flametta*, which include lyrics addressed to many dedicatees and deal with other topics alongside the poet's love). The setting of the poems is Rimini, where the author lived until 1468 before moving to Florence.²¹ The enforced separation of the two lovers represents the literary culmination of both the love song and the poetical volume. However, Cleofilo's *liber* is not shaped as a chronicle of his affections, but embraces a series of romantic events and feelings that hover between the gratification of love and the threat of its precariousness.²² From the point of view of its content, *Iulia* appears as a collection of elegiac poems, but the author decided to deal with the romantic matter in texts whose metrical schemes had their explicit point of reference in Horatian lyrical production. With the exception of two *carmina* (one in hexameter and one in elegiac couplets), the other twenty texts use twenty different metres, all of them taken from Horace. Donatella Coppini has observed that one of the key aspects of humanist poetry lies in the gap between ancient models and their humanistic re-use in accordance to a new modern sensitivity, and, at the same time, in the 'contamination' of diverse classical features and modes through their 're-functionalization' in new literary contexts.²³ According

²¹ See De Nichilo, 'Un canzoniere oraziano', p. 39.

²² See De Nichilo, 'Un canzoniere oraziano', p. 64.

²³ See Donatella Coppini, 'Introduzione' to 'Poesia dell'umanesimo. Latina', in *Antologia della poesia italiana*, ed. by Cesare Segre and Carlo Ossola, 3 vols (Turin: Einaudi-Gallimard, 1998), II (*Quattrocento-Settecento*), 3-8 (p. 4). See also Gian Biagio Conte and Alessandro Barchiesi, 'Imitazione e arte allusiva. Modi e funzioni dell'intertestualità', in *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica*, I (*La produzione letteraria*), 81-114 (p. 95). On intertextuality as a literary phenomenon see also Gian Biagio Conte, *Memoria dei poeti e sistema letterario. Catullo, Virgilio, Ovidio, Lucano* (Turin: Einaudi, 1974); Stephen Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Marina Polacco, *L'intertestualità* (Rome-

to this perspective, Cleofilo aimed not only to give evidence of his metrical ability, but also to create a unique literary product, without precedents in other classical and humanist works.

Thanks to the Horatian teachings and the poetical practices of Landino, as well as the Horatian literary interests of authors, such as Geraldini and Cleofilo, who lived in Tuscany in these years, in the Florentine cultural milieu the imitation of Horace continued to flourish and was furthered through the suggestions, the examples, and the experimentation of other poets. The compositions of two of Landino's disciples demonstrate the internalization of their professor's Horatian teachings, even though their literary outputs were completely dissimilar. One of these was Ugolino Verino (1438-1516), among the most prolific and significant poets of the Latin Quattrocento.²⁴ After having composed an elegiac volume (*Flammetta*, 1463), where the influence of Horace is clear both in his metrical choices (which include the Sapphic strophe among many elegiac couplets) and in its regular references and allusions (such as in the text II, 23, echoing *Epist.* I, 19, or his poem II, 42, 54, modelled on *Epist.* I, 13, 9), the humanist devoted his literary activity to spiritual poetry, in which he employed many forms and images derived from the Horatian *Epistulae*. Verino used also a large part of the Horatian ethical and philosophical register in the first four of seven books of his *Epigrammata* (1485), where he adapted the classical features and stylistic traits to moral and religious compositions.²⁵

Bari: Laterza, 1998); and Francesco Tateo, *Riscrittura come interpretazione. Dagli umanisti a Leopardi* (Bari: Laterza, 2001), pp. v-xviii.

²⁴ On Verino see Francesco Bausi, 'Verino, Ugolino', in *EO*, III, 506; and Id., 'Ugolino Verino, Savonarola e la poesia religiosa tra Quattro e Cinquecento', in *Studi savonaroliani. Verso il Cinquecentenario*, ed. by Gian Carlo Garfagnini (Tavarnuzze-Impruneta: Sismel, 1996), pp. 127-35.

²⁵ See Ugolino Verino, *Epigrammi*, ed. by Francesco Bausi (Messina: Sicania, 1998).

Another of Landino's disciples known for his use of Horace is the most eminent humanist of the fifteenth century, Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494). As seen above (section 2.2) Horace held a prominent place in Poliziano's university teaching and exegetical works; here it is important to emphasize Horace's role in the humanist's poetical compositions.²⁶ Poliziano did not engage in direct imitation of Horace's forms, but his influence is clearer when one examines Poliziano's thematic range. In fact, although Poliziano reproduced only two Horatian metrical systems, the Sapphic (in both its major and minor modulations) and the Asclepiadean (in all its five structures), some of his texts offer an example of deep and intimate meditations derived from some of the Latin author's passages and themes. In Poliziano's ode 7 to Alessandro Cortesi the poet reflects on the cruelty and unavoidability of destiny, echoing several features of *Carm.* III, 24; in his ode 6, addressed in 1487 to his students, the humanist reproduces Horace's invitation to seize the passing day, merging together many Horatian passages devoted to this topic.²⁷ Line 12 of this ode, for example, which states 'carpamus volucrem diem', derives from the combination of the famous formula *carpe diem* (*Carm.* I, 11, 8) with two other textual memories taken from *Carm.* III, 28, 6 ('veluti stet volucris dies') and *Carm.* IV, 13, 16 ('inclusit volucris dies'). Another ode by Poliziano that deftly modulates many Horatian forms and images, all combined in a personal way, is the *carmen* in major Sapphic strophes addressed to cardinal Gentile after the death of Giuliano de' Medici during the Pazzi conspiracy. The poet's consternation as well as his feeling of powerlessness in the face of the terrible event and his despair for the loss of a young

²⁶ Poliziano's Latin and vernacular works were published in Venice by Aldo Manuzio: *Omnia opera Angeli Politiani et alia quaedam lectu digna* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, 1498).

²⁷ See Attilio Bettinzoli, 'Dolus et Error: la fugacità, il grottesco, l'iperbole', in Id., *Daedaleum iter*. *Studi sulla poesia e la poetica di Angelo Poliziano* (Florence: Olschki, 1995), pp. 39-65.

friend are expressed in accordance with the Horatian tones of the epodes on the civil wars (*Epod.* 7 and 16); these are combined with those of *Carm.* I, 24, in which Horace mourned the death of his friend Quintilius Varus. Beyond these examples, Poliziano punctuates all of his odes with allusions and references to Horace's texts, not explicitly quoting entire lines but simply employing cultivated syntagms or even words derived from the Roman poet to tinge his verses with a specific tonality. For example, in his first ode, addressed to the cardinal Baccio Ugolino, the poet echoes two verses of *Carm.* I, 32, 4-5 ('barbite, carmen, // lesbio primum modulate civi'). First, Poliziano alludes to the verbal adjective ('modulate') of *Carm.* I, 32, 5 at the opening of his ode ('O meos longum modulata lusus'); then, he refers to l. 4 of the same Horatian text at the end of his first strophe ('dic, lyra, carmen'). This literary collage, which is expanded throughout the whole composition and the other odes of his volume, is a characteristic trait of Poliziano's production (and of humanist poetry in general), defined by Luigi Russo as 'imitazione-creazione':²⁸ the author creates his compositions through a matrix of poetical references whose combination gives life to a new independent literary product, enriched in terms of secondary meanings and rhetorical nuances through allusions to classical texts. Moreover, it is important to note that in his poetical works Poliziano often makes explicit homage to Horace. First, in the ode he composed in 1482 to celebrate the publication of Landino's commentary on Horace, Poliziano praises his master's exegetical work in the central strophes of this poem, but encircles them with two open celebrations of Horace and his poetry, defined as purer than that of the mythical Orpheus.²⁹ Secondly, Poliziano

²⁸ Russo, *Problemi di metodo critico*, p. 126.

²⁹ The ode is printed in the opening page of Landino's commentary (APPENDIX [5]), fols 2^v-3^r. On this poem see Raffaele Argenio, 'Orazio cantato dal Petrarca e dal Poliziano', *Rivista di studi classici*,

pays another unequivocal tribute to Horace in his poem 'Nutricia', a *silva* composed in 1486, in which the author sketches the history of poetry and defines its value. In this text, the only Latin lyrical poet to be mentioned by the author is Horace (ll. 640-42), whose prominence and uniqueness is thus glorified.³⁰

Poliziano had numerous disciples, but none of them could profess the same erudition and competence in the classical disciplines of their teacher. After his death, in 1494, the Florentine *studium* lost the prestige of the past. Yet if Poliziano's successors could not reach his level of philological competency, they proved worthy followers of his example in the literary field (as the works of Baccio di Luca Ugolini, Bernardo and Niccolò Michelozzi, Pietro Dovizzi da Bibbiena, Lippi Lorenzo di Giovanni, and Aurelio Brandolini witness). Here I will focus in particular on two of Poliziano's students who, following his example, composed Latin verses modelled on the works of Horace. The first is Bartolomeo Fonzio (1447-1513), whose exegetical production has been analysed in section 2.1. Despite his critique of Poliziano's *Miscellanea*, Fonzio made good use of his teacher's poetical teaching and composed some Latin poems where a predilection for Horatian models is evident. In his collection of poems entitled *Saxellus*, which was published in the 1480s, Horace's presence is not very prominent from a metrical point of view, since the majority of the poems are in elegiac couplets (even though some texts are written

15 (1967), 331-44; Antonio Traglia, 'De Politiani carmine ad Horatium', *Latinitas*, 26 (1978), 274-80; and Ludwig, 'Horazrezeption in der Renaissance', pp. 325-33.

³⁰ Poliziano's 'Nutricia' can be read in Angelo Poliziano, *Silvae*, ed. by Francesco Bausi (Florence: Olschki, 1996), pp. 202-48, as well as in Id., *Silvae*, ed. by Charles Fantazzi, The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA-London: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 114-61. On this poem see also Daneloni, 'Poliziano, Angelo', p. 436; and Dorothea Gall, 'Polizians Nutricia. Poetik und Literaturgeschichte', in 'Saeculum tamquam aureum'. *Internationales Symposium zur italienischen Renaissance des 14.-16. Jahrhunderts am 17./18. September 1996 in Mainz*, ed. by Ute Ecker and Clemens Zintzen (Hildesheim: Olms, 1997), pp. 129-48.

in Sapphic strophes or in Ascepiadean systems).³¹ Rather, Horace's influence is evident in Fonzio's poetical diction. His twenty-eight *carmina* allude to or even quote many expressions and syntagms of Horace's lyrical and hexametrical works to enrich their style and increase the classical allure of their language.³² However, the imitation of the Latin author is not limited to these rhetorical features, but extends more deeply throughout the content of the lyrics. First, many of Fonzio's poems recreate the friendly atmosphere of conversation among peers typical of Horace's compositions, and, like the Latin poet, praise the value and the benefits of friendship. Secondly, in several rhymes Fonzio expresses his philosophical ideal of the golden mean, which is directly inspired by Horace's *aurea mediocritas* and which is modulated in forms drawn from the Latin poet's corpus (such as *Carm.* II, 3, II, 10, *Epist.* I, 18, *Sat.* I, 1, 106-07). According to this principle, Fonzio presents himself in his *carmina* as a faithful friend of the Medici family, but proudly independent from and autonomous towards them. In poem 18 of his *Saxettus*, which echoes *Sat.* I, 6, 128-29,³³ he explicitly states that he prefers to lead a humble and retired life, free from ambition, rather than bowing down to power in order to obtain riches and protection.

The other disciple of Poliziano who followed his teaching in his literary works is Pietro Crinito (1476-1507).³⁴ He was one of Poliziano's last students, but also one of

³¹ Fonzio's *Saxellus* belongs to a larger collection of *Carmina*, preserved in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, ms. 43 Aug, on which the modern edition of Fonzio's *Carmina* is based: Bartholomaeus Fontius, *Carmina*, ed. by József Fogel et László Juhasz (Leipzig: Teubner, 1932). On Fonzio's *Carmina* see Bausi, 'Fonzio, Bartolomeo', 231-32; and Bartolomeo Fonzio, *Poesías latinas*, ed. by Virginia Bonmatí Sánchez (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2012).

³² See Bausi, 'Fonzio, Bartolomeo', 231.

³³ *Sat.* I, 6, 128-29, 'haec est / vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique' (this is the life of those who live freed from the ambition, which makes unhappy).

³⁴ On Crinito see Angeleri, 'Contributi biografici su l'umanista Pietro Crinito', 41-70; Id., 'Il Poliziano e il Crinito', pp. 119-29; Id., *A proposito degli studi sul Crinito*; Ricciardi, 'Del Riccio

the most faithful to him. After the death of his master, he first lectured in Florence, but the uncertainties of the time forced him to move to many other cities to find a position as university teacher. In less than a decade, he worked in Bologna, Ferrara, Naples, Rome, and Venice, before returning to Florence in the late 1490s thanks to the protection of the Rucellai family. He not only took part in the meetings of the Orti Oricellari, but collaborated with Manuzio in the publication of Poliziano's works (1498). He was also among the promoters of the Giunti printing house, where he published his scholarly works, such as the *Commentarii de honesta disciplina* (1504) and his treatise *De poetis latinis* (1505), which included the life of Horace analysed in chapter 1.³⁵ Crinito's Latin poems, however, were printed only after his death in 1507 in Verona.³⁶ In the prefatory letter of this edition, which was dedicated to Pietro Bembo, the editor Luceio da Verona states that he received Crinito's poems from Giovanni Cotta, friend of the author and ex-disciple of both Poliziano and Pontano. In Crinito's fifty-eight Latin compositions, the influence of Horace is stronger than that of any other classical poet. From a metrical point of view the author reproduces in his texts the majority of both the lyrical and Epodic metres of his Latin model, but, following Filelfo and Boiardo's example, he also sometimes takes pride in experimenting with new and daring metrical schemes of his own invention, creating, for example, innovative four-line strophes through the combination of Glyconic and Pherecratus verses (I, 21), or five-line strophes,

Baldi, Pietro', 265-68; Bausi, 'Crinito, Pietro', 183-84; Vecce, 'La filologia', pp. 145 and 201; and Marchiari, *La biblioteca di Pietro Crinito. Manoscritti*.

³⁵ *Petri Criniti Commentarii de honesta disciplina* (Florence: Giunti, 1504), and *Petri Criniti De poetis latinis* (Florence: Giunti, 1505). The latter can be read in Pietro Crinito, *De honesta disciplina*, ed. by Carlo Angeleri (Rome: Bocca, 1955).

³⁶ *Petri Criniti Poematum libri duo* (Verona: [n. pub.], 1507). Another edition appeared in 1520 without indication of place of printing, but scholars believe it was most likely published in Florence. See Bausi, 'Crinito, Pietro', 183-84. This work can be read in Mastrogianni, *Die 'Poemata' des Petrus Crinitus*, pp. 25-149.

juxtaposing three Alcaic hendecasyllables and two Glyconics (I, 16).³⁷ In terms of style, lexical features, and themes, Crinito largely models his work on Horace's production. Besides the long series of quotations and allusions, quite widespread in both the books of his volume, which witnesses a constant dedication to and an assiduous meditation on the odes of the Latin lyricist, there are even more resonant Horatian echoes in the *Poemata*. Crinito, in fact, deals with many subjects particularly dear to Horace (such as the *aurea mediocritas*, the necessity to live separated from the courts in a peaceful landscape, and to seize the passing day, the appreciation for humble things, and the importance of friendship). His poem I, 5, 'Ad Avitum de quiete vivendi', is a synthesis of many of these themes. In the poem's lines the author describes to his friend the precepts he should follow in order to lead a quiet and serene life. Crinito states that Avito must enjoy literary *otia* ('cunctos otio frui certo', l. 2), that he does not need to fear death ('nihil timebis ultimam diem', l. 3), that he should face any difficulty with a firm and calm mind ('animoque forti lubricam feras sortem', l. 4), that he should avoid the rewards of powerful men so as not to be their debtor ('vites potentium purpuras veltu pestem / colasque semper liberum genus vitae', ll. 5-6), and that he should retire in a quiet place among a few trusted friends ('in quo voluptas adsit et quies mollis / blandi lepores et sodalitas grata', ll. 7-8). Horace had already addressed all these invitations to many dedicatees of his works. Therefore the reference to the same precepts testifies not only to Crinito's reception of the Latin poet's modes, but also to his agreement with Horace's opinions and perspectives concerning life and behaviour. Crinito often

³⁷ On Horace's influence on Crinito's *Carmina* see, above all, Mastrogianni, *Die 'Poemata' des Petrus Crinitus*, passim; CURCIO, p. 101; Ludwig, 'Horazrezeption in der Renaissance', pp. 333-43; and Bausi, 'Crinito, Pietro', 183-84. On Crinito's metrics see Jean-Louis Charlet, 'Le choix des mètres dans les *Poemata* de Pietro Crinito', *BHR*, 67.1 (2005), 7-26.

recreates the poetical tones of his model in his moralizing texts (inserted above all in the second book of the *Poemata*), and also composes his love rhymes according to the forms and features of those of Horace. He even names his lovers Glycera and Neera, just like the women loved by the Latin poet.³⁸

Unlike the majority of his contemporaries, Crinito did not write encomiastic poems, and it was probably for this reason that he did not enter the Medici's milieu. He even decided not to dedicate his poetical work to a powerful protector, but to the Muses (I, 1) in order to be considered in the future as a person who lived righteously and autonomously (albeit miserly), as he proclaims to his friend Fosforo in the poem II, 4 ('ego interim, Phosphore, quietus vixero / misereque dicar, non reus', II, 4, 29-30). Crinito deals with the same topic in his proemial poem, which is not only a manifestation of his independent life, but also a poetical declaration, since the author opens his volume with a text that in its first lines closely echoes two famous Horatian passages (*Carm.* I, 26, 1 and III, 3, 1-4), and which then follows the example of *Carm.* II, 18. Another (and even more explicit) acknowledgment of his literary debt to the Latin poet is hidden in the *carmen* I, 23, a Sapphic poem dedicated to Horace, where Crinito, following the example of Poliziano's ode 3, praises the Latin author and openly declares his admiration for his poetry.

5.2 NAPLES AND PONTANO'S ACADEMY

Poliziano aimed to renew humanist poetry primarily by revitalizing thematic, linguistic, structural, and stylistic features, rather than on the basis of a series of mere

³⁸ This happens in *Pomeata* I, 24, II, 28, II, 31, II, 32, II, 33.

metrical virtuositities and experimentations. For this reason, as observed above, in his poetical production he employed only two lyrical metres (the Sapphic and the Asclepiadean) from the many he could have derived from Horace. His proposal of literary renovation was shared by another distinguished humanist of the second half of the Quattrocento, Giovanni Pontano (1429-1503).³⁹ Pontano was born in Umbria, but in 1448 he went to Naples, where he spent the rest of his life. There he immediately started to attend the meetings of the academy founded by Antonio Beccadelli, called Panormita, after whose death in 1471 he became the academy's leader.⁴⁰ This institution, which after Pontano was named the 'Accademia Pontaniana', was one of the most prestigious cultural organizations of the Italian fifteenth century, with a vast and highly significant impact and influence.⁴¹ Pontano was a very prolific writer and composed several philosophical dialogues and many poetical books, which were edited and published by his disciple and successor at the

³⁹ On Pontano there is a vast bibliography. See, at least, Erasmo Percopo, 'La vita di Giovanni Pontano', *Archivio storico per le Province Napoletane*, 61 (1936), 116-250; Cesare Vasoli, 'Giovanni Pontano', in *Letteratura italiana. I minori*, 4 vols (Milano: Marzorati, 1961-1962), I, 597-618; Carlo Dionisotti, 'Juvenilia del Pontano', in *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro De Marinis* (Verona: Stamperia Valdonega, 1964), pp. 181-206; Francesco Tateo, *Umanesimo etico di Giovanni Pontano* (Lecce: Milella, 1972); Giacomo Ferraù, *Pontano critico* (Messina: Centro di Studi Umanistici, 1983); Liliana Monti Sabia, *Pontano e la storia: dal 'De bello Neapolitano' all' 'Actius'* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1995); *Atti della Giornata di studi per il quinto centenario della morte di Giovanni Pontano*, ed. by Antonio Garzya (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 2004); and Liliana Monti Sabia-Salvatore Monti, *Studi su Giovanni Pontano*, ed. by Giuseppe Germano (Messina: Centro interdipartimentale di studi umanistici, 2010).

⁴⁰ The importance for Pontano of his birth in Umbria is highlighted in Matteo Soranzo, "'Umbria Pieridum Cultrix'" (*Parthenopoeus* I: 18): Poetry and Identity in Giovanni Pontano (1429-1503)', *IS*, 67.1 (2012), 27-40. See also Id., *Poetry and Identity in Quattrocento Naples* (Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 13-46.

⁴¹ On Pontano's academy see Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Cenno storico della Accademia Pontaniana* (Naples: Tipografia Rinaldi e Sellitto, 1876); Id., 'Cenno storico delle Accademie fiorite nella città di Napoli', *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, 5 (1880), 353-65; Id., *Biografie degli Accademici Alfonsini detti poi Pontaniani dal 1442 al 1543* (Naples: [n. pub.], 1881; repr. Bologna: Forni, 1969); Fausto Nicolino, *L'Accademia Pontaniana: Cenni storici* (Naples: L'Arte tipografica, 1957); Toscano, *Letterati corti accademie*; and Han Lamers, 'Humanist Centres—Naples', in *BENLW*, II, 990-92.

head of the academy, Pietro Summonte, between 1505 and 1512.⁴² In his poetical works, Pontano mainly followed the example of Virgil and only seldom imitated Horace. However, the few traces of his reception of Horace are particularly significant, as Francesco Tateo has noted,⁴³ because they are not simple linguistic calques, but rather elements of a larger, albeit subtle, form of imitation, which aims to impart a refined secondary meaning to the texts where they are employed. Although in Pontano's dialogues (such as in the *Actius* [composed in 1499], where the author deals with styles and literary genres) Horace is mentioned only to reinforce some lateral observations on metre and prosody, in his verses the Latin lyricist becomes a much more significant point of reference.⁴⁴ His poetical work entitled *Parthenopeus sive Amores* is a juvenile collection of Latin poems, composed in the late 1450s, articulated in two books and modelled on the metrical variety of Catullus's *liber*, whose mixture of genres and forms the humanist wished to use; he

⁴² The first edition of Pontano's *opera omnia* was *Ioannis Ioviani Pontani opera a mendis expurgata et in quattuor tomis digesta* (Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1556). Pontano's Latin texts can be read in the following modern editions: *Iohannis Ioviani Pontani Carmina*, ed. by Benedetto Soldati, 2 vols (Florence: Sansoni, 1902); and Giovanni Pontano, *Carmina. Egloghe, elegie, liriche*, ed. by Johannes Oeschege (Bari: Laterza, 1948). See also Giovanni Pontano, *Eglogae*, ed. by Liliana Monti Sabia (Naples: Liguori, 1973); Id., *Hendecasyllaborum libri*, ed. by Liliana Monti Sabia (Qualiano: Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi, 1978); Liliana Monti Sabia, 'La *Lyra* di Giovanni Pontano', *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia e di Belle Arti di Napoli*, 47 (1972), 1-70; and the vast anthology of Pontano's works in *Poeti latini del Quattrocento*, ed. by Francesco Arnaldi, Lucia Gualdi Rosa, and Liliana Monti Sabia (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1964), pp. 305-783. Pontano's *De amore coniugale* can be read in Giovanni Pontano, *On Married love. Eridanus*, The I Tatti Renaissance Library (Cambridge, MA-London: Harvard University Press, 2014). On Pontano's Latin works see CURCIO, pp. 113-16; Liliana Monti Sabia, 'Esegesi, critica e storia del testo nei *Carmina* del Pontano', *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere dell'Università di Napoli*, 12 (1969-70), 219-51; Giovanni Parenti, 'Pontano o dell'allitterazione: lettura di *Parthenopeus* I, 7', *Rinascimento*, 15 (1975), 89-110; Id., 'Poeta Proteus alter'. *Forma e storia di tre libri di Pontano* (Florence: Olschki, 1985); Gustavo Costa, 'Giovanni Pontano and the Orpheus Myth: Poetry and Magic in the Age of Humanism', *Rivista di studi italiani*, 4 (1986), 1-17; Francesco Tateo, 'Properzio nella letteratura latina del Quattrocento', in *Properzio nella letteratura italiana. Atti del convegno nazionale, Assisi, 15-17 novembre 1985*, ed. by Silvio Pasquazi (Rome: Bulzoni, 1987), pp. 41-67; Id., 'Orazio nell'umanesimo napoletano', pp. 41-52; and Id., 'Pontano, Giovanni', in *EO*, III, 441-44.

⁴³ See Tateo, 'Orazio nell'umanesimo napoletano', p. 44.

⁴⁴ In his *Actius* Pontano quotes Horace's *Sat.* I, 6, 4 as an example of the poetical efficacy of words composed of more than four syllables. On this reference and other references to Horace in Pontano's dialogues see Tateo, 'Pontano, Giovanni', pp. 441-42.

saw this as a way of presenting himself as a renovator of the traditional epigrammatic forms of the early-Quattrocento poetical panorama.⁴⁵ However, in this work Pontano pays some substantial tributes to Horace, whom he implicitly indicates as one of the cornerstones of his process of literary renewal. First, the humanist places among the opening texts of the *Parthenopeus* a lyric (I, 4) written in Epodic verses, drawn from the Horatian iambic corpus. Then, he dedicates two elegies in the second book to two of the most traditional Horatian topoi. In elegy II, 12 Pontano praises the refreshing power of wine and its link with love, before meditating on the ephemereal character of pleasure, closely following *Carm.* I, 9 and II, 7. At the end of elegy II, 13, after having compared the military deeds of the past (undertaken to defend the homeland) with those of the present (pursued mainly to earn profit), the poet celebrates poetical *otium* and literary retirement. The echo of *Carm.* I, 1, where Horace's decision to live in peace to devote his time to poetry is opposed to the various inclinations of his contemporaries, is unequivocal and becomes a clear poetical statement of Pontano's choices.

The same two thematic memories are also present in Pontano's *De amore coniugale*, a collection of love poems for his wife. In elegy II, 3 Pontano establishes an opposition between war and peace, following the pattern of *Carm.* I, 1 (and *Parthenopeus* II, 13); furthermore, Pontano focuses on his desire to retire to a serene life in the countryside. In the final lines of the text, he gives voice through the syntagm 'rura peto' (l. 34) to his intense desire to find a calm place in the midst of nature to devote to his literary studies, echoing *Carm.* II, 6, 11-12.⁴⁶ Pontano's elegy

⁴⁵ See De Nichilo, 'Un canzoniere oraziano', p. 50.

⁴⁶ Hor. *Carm.* II, 6, 11-12, 'regnata petam Laconi / rura Phalanto' (I will go to the countryside where reigned the Spartan Phalantus).

II, 2, on the other hand, is a celebration of the symposium and of wine's power to bring comfort to human beings, along the lines of *Parthenopeus* II, 12. It may seem unexpected to find these two texts, dealing with Horatian themes, within a volume collecting poems of love and affection, but a significant link exists between elegies II, 2 and II, 3 and the rest of the work.⁴⁷ Positioning these two apparently extravagant poems in the middle of his collection, Pontano presumably wants his reader to consider them as a sort of variation on the general subject discussed in the volume. Thanks to these few Horatian elements, then, Pontano casts a new light on his collection, whose texts appear not simply as dealing with love but with those pure affections that bring quiet to the human soul.

Other allusions and references to the Horatian corpus are scattered among Pontano's later works. Some are either employed to enhance the tragic tone of lyrics (such as the metaphor of the withering rose, drawn from *Carm.* IV, 10, employed in the humanist's text [*Iambici*, 4] devoted to the death of his son Lucio), or to solemnize the forms of his composition, as in the allusion to the opening stanzas of the *Carmen saeculare* in Pontano's Sapphic hymn 'Ad Solem', which is the fifth poem of the poetical work *Lyra*. Other references have a more complex meta-textual function, such as the quotation of the same Horatian passage (*Carm.* I, 12, 7-8) in two Sapphic poems of the *Lyra*. In the first text (*Lyra*, 1) Pontano refers to the Horatian *carmen* while describing the mythological episode of Orpheus in the Underworld, whereas in the second text (*Lyra* 4) he alludes to the same Horatian lines while celebrating the nymphs Patulci and Antiniana, metaphorical representations of his poetry and that of Virgil. Since the quoted Horatian passage

⁴⁷ On *Parthenopeus* II, 3 see Giovanni Parenti, 'Parthenopeus II, 3: i due finali', *Rinascimento*, 9 (1969), 283-90.

derives from an ode in which the Latin poet evoked Orpheus before celebrating Augustus, it has been suggested that Pontano employs this double quotation as a literary stratagem to suggest that, as Horace situated himself close to Orpheus, so Pontano wishes to present himself in close association with Virgil.⁴⁸

More complex forms of reception took place in the works of those younger poets who had Pontano as their master and participated in the cultural life of the Accademia Pontaniana. Among these, two of the most illustrious figures were the Constantinopolitan Michele Marullo (1453-1500) and the Neapolitan Jacopo Sannazaro (1457-1530). Both experimented in their collections of poems with a vast range of metrical solutions, broader than that of Pontano's works and directly modelled in accordance to the Horatian odes; their works are studded with allusions to and quotations from Horace. In the poetical volumes of Marullo the Horatian imitative forms are only vaguely associated with references to those themes that the Latin poet developed.⁴⁹ In fact, in both Marullo's *Neniarum liber*, a series of five mourning compositions, and in his *Hymni naturales*, Horace mainly provides the humanist with the metrical systems for his poems: two *Neniae* are written in the fourth Asclepiadean metre, one in the second Asclepiadean system, and three texts in Alcaic strophes, as well as many *Hymni* written in Epodic metres and in Sapphic strophes.⁵⁰ Moreover, in his *Hymni* Marullo reproduces the pattern of the Latin

⁴⁸ See Tateo, 'Orazio nell'umanesimo napoletano', pp. 41 n. 5, 45 n. 1, and 50; and Id. 'Pontano, Giovanni', p. 444. See also CURCIO, p. 113; and De Nichilo, 'Un canzoniere oraziano', p. 50 and n. 2.

⁴⁹ On Marullo see Benedetto Croce, *Michele Marullo Tarcaniota* (Bari: Laterza, 1938); Francesco Tateo, 'La poesia religiosa di Michele Marullo', in Id., *Tradizione e realtà nell'umanesimo italiano* (Bari: Dedalo, 1967), pp. 129-219; Donatella Coppini, 'Marullo, Michele', in *EO*, III, 344-46; and Alessandro Perosa, 'Studi sulla formazione delle raccolte di poesie del Marullo', in Id., *Studi di filologia umanistica*, ed. by Paolo Viti (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2000), pp. 203-44.

⁵⁰ Marullo's *Neniae* and *Hymni* can be read in modern editions: *Michaelis Marulli Carmina*, ed. by Alessandro Perosa (Turin: in aedibus Tesauri mundi, 1951), and Michele Marullo Tarcaniota, *Inni*

poet's hymnographic odes. His poem to Mercury (II, 8), for example, is structured according to *Carm.* I, 10, whilst his text devoted to Bacchus (I, 6) follows the models of *Carm.* II, 19 and III, 25, though intertwined with many references to Catullus's *carmen* 63 and the sixth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Marullo pays even more explicit tribute to Horace in one of his *Epigrammata*, where generally the references to Horace are less pervasive. In his text I, 6, entitled 'De poetis latinis', Marullo praises Horace as the first and most eminent poet in both the satirical and the lyrical genres.⁵¹ This poetical statement formally ratified the new Quattrocento humanist perception of the Latin author – now completely detached from the late-medieval tendency to consider Horace mainly as a gnomic poet – thanks to the new forms of reception analysed thus far. Marullo's assessment would later be confirmed by sixteenth-century works dealing with classical Latin literature, such as Giraldi's *Historia poetarum* and Decembrio's *Politia literaria*.⁵²

The other remarkable pupil of Pontano and member of his Academy,⁵³ Sannazaro (who also studied with Poliziano in Florence), displays in his Latin works a particular fondness for Horace. Not only is this more pronounced than what one

Naturali, ed. by Donatella Coppini (Florence: Le Lettere, 1995). On these Latin works see CURCIO, p. 127; Walter Ludwig, *Antike Götter und christlicher Glaube. Die 'Hymni naturales' von Marullo* (Hamburg: Joachim Jungius Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1992); Antonio Piras, 'Alcuni aspetti linguistici degli *Epigrammi* di Michele Marullo', *Maya*, 44 (1992), 293-308; Christine Harrauer, *Kosmos und Mythos: die Weltgotthymnen und die mythologischen Hymnen des Michael Marullus. Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994); Michael J. McGann, 'Reading Horace in the Quattrocento: The *Hymn to Mars* of Michael Marullus', in *Homage to Horace. A Bimillenary Celebration*, ed. by Stephen Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 329-47; Coppini, 'Marullo, Michele', 345-46; and Jean-Louis Charlet, 'Le mètre sapphique chez Marulle', *Studi umanistici piceni*, 27 (2007), 187-97.

⁵¹ See also CURCIO, p. 127, Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, p. 92 n. 20; and Coppini, 'Marullo, Michele', 345.

⁵² See Giraldi, *Historia poetarum*, p. 207; and Angelo Decembrio, *De politia literaria libri septem* (Basel: Johan Herwagen, 1562), p. 27-28. See also CURCIO p. 128.

⁵³ On the influence of Pontano's Academy on Sannazaro see Lucia Gualdo Rosa, 'L'accademia pontaniana e la sua ideologia in alcuni componimenti giovanili del Sannazaro', in *Acta Conventus Neolatini Cantabrigiensis* (Tempe: Arizona State University Press, 2003), pp. 61-82.

finds in his vernacular production, but it has led some scholars to argue that the Cinquecento's renewed interest in Horatian features and modes within Neo-Latin poetry was largely due to the diffusion of his *Epigrammata* and *Elegiae*.⁵⁴ First, Sannazaro follows the Horatian model in the macro-structural features of both these collections of poems, since he follows Horace's organizing principles. As in Horace's hexametrical and lyrical production, where his relations with the Augustan élite were made explicit in the prominent texts of his poetical collections, Sannazaro's links with the Aragon family, rulers of the kingdom of Naples, is the topic of many of the opening and closing texts of Sannazaro's volumes. The second book of his *Elegiae* begins with a poem celebrating Alfonso, Duke of Calabria (and king of Naples between 1494 and 1495), while the third book of the same work is addressed to Federico d'Aragona, brother of Alfonso and king between 1495 and 1504.⁵⁵ The sovereign is also praised in the opening poems of the first two books of Sannazaro's *Epigrammata*. These texts are not simply instances of courtly homage to the ruler, but sincere demonstrations of gratitude to a king who recently welcomed

⁵⁴ On the importance of Sannazaro's Latin works for the reception of Horace in sixteenth-century Neo-Latin literature see Tateo, 'Orazio nell'umanesimo napoletano', p. 52. The first edition of Sannazaro's Latin works is Jacopo Sannazaro, *Opera omnia* (Venice: Paolo Manuzio, 1535). His poetical works had never been integrally critically edited. On the philological problem they represent see Antonio Altamura, *La tradizione manoscritta dei 'Carmina' del Sannazaro* (Naples: Viti, 1956). Part of the texts of the *Epigrammata* and *Elegiae* have been anthologized in *Poeti latini del Quattrocento*. On the *Epigrammata* and the *Elegiae* see Francesco Tateo, 'Per una lettura critica dell'opera latina di Sannazaro', *Convivium*, 25 (1957), 413-27; Id., 'Orazio nell'umanesimo napoletano', pp. 50-52; Lucia Gualdo Rosa, 'A proposito degli epigrammi di Sannazaro', in *Acta Conventus Neolatini Amstelodamensis* (Munich: Fink, 1979), pp. 453-76; Walter Ludwig, *Litterae Neolatinae* (Munich: Fink, 1988), pp. 259-69; David Marsh, 'Sannazaro's Elegy on the ruins of Cumae', *BHR*, 50 (1988), 681-90; Carlo Vecce, 'Multiplex his anguis. Gli epigrammi latini di Sannazaro contro Poliziano', *Rinascimento*, 30 (1990), 235-55; and Id., 'La filologia', 128-29.

⁵⁵ On Sannazaro's *Elegiae* II, 1 see Godo Lieberg, 'Iacopo Sannazaro *Eleg.* II, 1 e Properzio', in *Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a Francesco Della Corte*, 5 vols (Urbino: Università degli Studi, 1987), V, 461-73. On his *Elegiae* III, 1 see Tateo, 'Orazio nell'umanesimo napoletano', p. 52. In the same elegy (III, 1) in which Sannazaro praises King Federico d'Aragona, ll. 59-60 are devoted to celebrate the young Alfonso d'Avalos in accordance to the modes and features of Horace's *Carm.* I, 7. Sannazaro's passage later became the reference point for Ariosto's homage to Alfonso in *OF*, XXXIII, 29.

the poet into his entourage and who, above all, offered Sannazaro a villa in Mergellina as a sign of his esteem and consideration. The parallels between these events and Horace's biography are numerous, and Sannazaro elegantly makes use of any possible correspondences to honour his patron. In the epigrams, composed in Sapphic strophes,⁵⁶ Sannazaro celebrates his villa, and it is especially here that the resonances with Horatian texts become even more evident. A particular instance is in the second poem of his first book of *Epigrammata*. Here Sannazaro first consecrates his new estate to the nymphs of Mergellina, following the modes that Horace used to dedicate to Diana the pine tree, which grew in front of the house that Maecenas offered him (*Carm.* III, 22); he then thanks his king for having allowed him, through this gift, to abandon the tumultuous life of the city. Another Sapphic ode in which the Neapolitan poet praises his new property is the epigram II, 42, shaped in accordance with the features of Horace's praise of the *fons Bandusiae* (*Carm.* III, 13). The Latin poet is the point of reference for other texts of the same collection, too. In epigrams I, 3 and I, 9 Sannazaro deals with the topic of the *carpe diem*. He depends, instead, on different Horatian metaphors in both his poem I, 24 to describe the icy Volturno river (echoing *Epist.* I, 3, 3), and in I, 60 to give voice to his meditation over the ineluctability of death (on the basis of *Carm.* II, 3). Moreover, in three other epigrams (II, 58, II, 66 and II, 67, all in Sapphic strophes), the poet celebrates, following some forms of the *Carmen saeculare* and *Carm.* III, 18, his protector saints, St Nazarius and St Gaudioso, asking them to defend him during his

⁵⁶ Tateo ('Orazio nell'umanesimo napoletano', p. 51) stresses the correspondence between the Sapphic strophes of Sannazaro and their celebrative content.

exile in France (1501-1505), where he followed King Federico after he was dethroned by Louis XII of France.⁵⁷

5.3 BETWEEN BOLOGNA AND FERRARA

Along with Florence and Naples, another important milieu for humanist culture in general and the fortune of Horace in particular was the Emilia area, with the two university cities of Bologna and Ferrara. Since the early decades of the Quattrocento, thanks to the teachings of Guarino Veronese and his son Battista Guarini in Ferrara and those of Perotti and Beroaldo the Elder in Bologna, both centres had tirelessly promoted knowledge of classical antiquity and enhanced the understanding and appreciation of Horatian works. Many students of the aforementioned humanists developed a particular devotion to the Latin author and a specific interest in his production, mirrored either in their activities as exegetes and lecturers, or in their poetical practice. For example, Tito Vespasiano Strozzi (1424-1505) and Ludovico Carbone (1430-1485) were educated by Guarino and both composed literary works with Horace as one of their main points of reference. If this is not strikingly evident in the Latin poems of Carbone, who distanced himself from traditional humanist poetry and followed the Horatian example by writing some of his compositions in Sapphic strophes,⁵⁸ it is unmistakable in the literary works of Strozzi.⁵⁹ This is

⁵⁷ On Sannazaro's exile in France see Carlo Vecce, 'Iacopo Sannazaro in Francia ed alcune opere dell'atelier di Bournichon', *Revue des Archéologues et Historien d'Art de Louvain*, 16 (1983), 120-27; and Id., *Iacopo Sannazaro in Francia. Scoperte di codici all'inizio del XVI secolo* (Padua: Antenore, 1988).

⁵⁸ On Carbone see CURCIO, pp. 97-98.

⁵⁹ On Tito Vespasiano Strozzi see Giovanni Andrea Barotti, *Memorie storiche di letterati ferraresi*, 3 vols (Ferrara: Eredi di Giuseppe Rinaldi, 1792-1793, repr. Bologna: Forni, 1970), III, 56-57; Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, pp. 73-77; Béatrice Charlet-Mesdijan, 'Réception de Strozzi en Europe', in

particularly the case in his satires, printed by Manuzio in 1513 in a posthumous volume collecting the poems of both Tito Vespasiano and his son Ercole.⁶⁰ Strozzi wrote four satires that show a clear dependence on Horatian hexametrical production both in their rhetorical and thematic features and in their structure.⁶¹ From a macro-textual point of view, Strozzi often arranges his verses according to a meandering flow of thoughts, which derives its wandering if not incoherent outline from the Horatian *sermo*. What is more, in terms of content, the author discusses traditional Horatian themes: for example, in his first satire, ‘Ad Luceium Ripam’, which opens with a quotation from *Epist.* I, 7, the poet praises the countryside and depicts a refined banquet scene, in accordance with the stylistic traits and forms of *Sat.* II, 8. His last poem, too, openly draws its features from the texts of the Latin author: Strozzi defends his poetical and life choice to live in a peaceful setting and to avoid the conflicts and anxieties of the courts, following *Sat.* I, 4 and I, 10, where Horace explains his decision to retire to the countryside. The significance of these themes for the author is made evident by the fact that they are also reproduced in some of the

Rapporti e scambi tra Umanesimo italiano ed Umanesimo europeo, ed. by Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (Milan: Nuovi Orizzonti, 2001), pp. 563-74; Id., ‘La bibliothèque réelle et imaginaire de Tito Vespasiano Strozzi’, in *L’Europa del libro nell’età dell’Umanesimo*, ed. by Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (Florence: Franco Cesati, 2004), pp. 137-48; Id., ‘Tito Vespasiano Strozzi’, in *Centuriae Latinae II. Mélanges offerts à Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie*, ed. by Colette Nativel (Geneva: Droz, 2006), pp. 779-85; Id., ‘Tito Vespasiano Strozzi et Janus Pannonius: un commerce poétique au sein de la *Res publica litterarum*’ in ‘*Hercules Latinus*’. *Acta colloquiorum minorum anno 2004 Aquis Sextiis, sequenti autem anno Debrecini causa praeparandi grandis eius 13. conventus habitorem, quem Societas internationalis studiis neolatinis provehendis diebus 6-13 m. Aug. a. 2006 in Hungariae finibus instituet*, ed. by László Havas and Imre Tegyey (Debrecen: Societas neolatina hungarica, 2006), pp. 41-53; and Caterino, ‘Filliroe e i suoi poeti’, 183.

⁶⁰ *Strozii poetae, pater et filius* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, 1513). Caterino (‘Filliroe e i suoi poeti’, 183) points out that the texts of the Aldine edition are often different from those preserved in the manuscript copies.

⁶¹ See Floriani, *Il modello ariostesco*, pp. 73-76.

poems of the *Eroticon*, Strozzi's *prosimetrum*, which has traditionally elegiac metrical forms but content partially influenced by Horace's corpus.⁶²

An increasing interest in the Latin poet's *Sermones* in the Emilia area is echoed in the works of another humanist somewhat younger than Strozzi, Antonio Urceo Codro (1446-1500), who studied in Ferrara with Battista Guarini and with Perotti in Bologna, where he later became lecturer.⁶³ Among many other texts, he composed a short corpus of Latin satires following the Horatian model through the lens of Strozzi. His erudite reputation and fame as a learned scholar and poet ensured that both his critical and literary works had a great resonance and were taken into high consideration. Codro's poems and predilection for Horace, indeed, had a varied influence. On the one hand, from a broad perspective they became the reference point for one of the major Latin satirists of the sixteenth century: the Neapolitan

⁶² Strozzi' *Eroticon*, printed in the volume *Strozzi poetae* edited by Aldo Manuzio (pp. 102-87), can now be read in Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, *Poesie latine tratte dall'Aldina e confrontate coi codici*, ed. by Anita Della Guardia, (Modena: Blondi e Parmeggiani, 1916), and in a more accurate albeit anthological form in the volume *Poeti latini del Quattrocento*. On Strozzi's *Eroticon* see Italo Pantani, *La fonte d'ogni eloquenza: il canzoniere petrarchesco nella cultura poetica del Quattrocento ferrarese* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002); Antonia Tissoni Benvenuti, 'Prime indagini sulla tradizione degli *Eroticon libri* di Tito Vespasiano Strozzi', *Filologia Italiana*, 1 (2004), 345-40; Béatrice Charlet-Mesdijan, 'Eros dans l'*Eroticon* de Tito Vespasiano Strozzi', in *Eros et Priapus. Erotisme et Obscénité dans la littérature néo-latine*, ed. by Ingrid de Smet and Philip Ford (Geneva: Droz, 1997), pp. 25-42; Barbara Beleggia, 'Echi petrarcheschi negli *Eroticon libri* di Tito Vespasiano Strozzi', in *Il Petrarchismo. Un modello di poesia per l'Europa*, ed. by Loredana Chines, 2 vols (Rome: Bulzoni, 2006), II, 553-68; Béatrice Charlet-Mesdijan, 'Le poète et le prince dans les poèmes de dédicace de l'*Eroticon*', in *Cultura e potere nel Rinascimento*, pp. 221-31; Id., 'Le bestiaire de l'*Eroticon* de Tito Vespasiano Strozzi', *RPL*, 22 (1999), 109-16; Id., 'Arts et poésie dans l'*Eroticon* de Tito Vespasiano Strozzi', in *Lettere ed arti nel Rinascimento. Atti del decimo Convegno internazionale (Chianciano-Pienza 20-23 luglio 1998)*, ed. by Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Florence: Franco Cesati, 2000), pp. 105-13; and Id., 'Le mythe de l'âge d'or dans la poésie élégiaque de Tito Vespasiano Strozzi', in *Millenarismo ed età dell'oro nel Rinascimento. Atti del tredicesimo Convegno internazionale (Chianciano-Pienza 16-19 luglio 1998)*, ed. by Luisa Secchi Tarugi (Florence: Franco Cesati, 2003), pp. 117-25.

⁶³ On Codro see Carlo Malagola, *Della vita e delle opere di Antonio Urceo detto Codro. Studi e ricerche* (Bologna: Fava e Garagnini, 1878); Ezio Raimondi, *Codro e l'umanesimo a Bologna* (Bologna: Zuffi, 1950); Mario Emilio Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*, 6 vols (Boston: Hall, 1962), IV, 3513-20; Gaspare Venturini, *Un umanista modenese nella Ferrara di Borso d'Este* (Ravenna: Gaspare Tribbraco, 1970), pp. 33-36; Ezio Raimondi, *Politica e commedia. Dal Beroaldo al Machiavelli* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1972), pp. 48-57 and 72-79; Lucia Gualdo Rosa, 'Cortesi Urceo, Antonio', in *DBI*, XXIX (1983), 773-78; and Codro, *Sermones*, passim.

Giano Anisio, known also by his humanistic name Giovanni Francesco Anisi (1465-1540),⁶⁴ who wrote six books of satires, published in 1532, following the example of Horace's *Sermones* through Codro's lens.⁶⁵ Since Anisio's whole production is characterized by a prevalent moral critique of the present time and every text has its own dedicatee (such as Manuzio, Sannazaro, Parrasio, Martirano), his collection of *sermones* appears as a moral epistolary, composed in accordance with Horatian features. On the other hand, from a geographically and chronologically narrow perspective, Codro's texts had a significant resonance with younger Emilian poets such as Panfilo Sasso (1455-1527), Ercole Strozzi (1470-1508), son of Tito Vespasiano, and, above all, Ludovico Ariosto (1474-1533). Sasso⁶⁶ composed both vernacular and Latin compositions. His Italian poems mainly followed the model of Serafino Aquilano and were printed in Brescia in 1500, while his epigrams and elegies, collected in a volume entitled *Epigrammata* (1499),⁶⁷ respectively showed Sasso's interest in Ovid's works and those of Catullus and Martial. However, he put Codro's precedent to good use and composed Latin texts on the forms of Horace, such as his Sapphic poem 'Fons sacer vivo vitreo per erbas', which draws its content

⁶⁴ On Anisio see Giuseppe Vollaro, *Giano Anisio, umanista dell'accademia pontaniana* (Naples: Casella, 1914); Anna Buiatti, 'Anisio, Giovanni Francesco', in *DBI*, III (1961), 332-33; Carlo Vecce, 'Giano Anisio e l'umanesimo napoletano. Note sulle prime raccolte poetiche dell'Anisio', *CL*, 88-89 (1995), 63-80; Id., 'L'egloga *Melisaëus* di Giano Anisio tra Pontano e Sannazaro', in *La poesia pastorale nel Rinascimento*, ed. by Stefano Carrai (Padua: Antenore, 1998), pp. 213-34; and Id., 'La filologia', 200 and 202.

⁶⁵ *Iohanni Francisci Anisii Satyrae ad Pompeum Columnam cardinalem* (Naples: Johann Sultzbach, 1532).

⁶⁶ On Sasso see Giulio Reichenbach, 'Sassi, Panfilo', in *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 36 vols (Milan-Rome: Treves Tumminelli-Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, 1929-1939), XXX (1936), 439; Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca modenese*, 6 vols (Modena: Società Tipografica, 1781-1786, repr. Bologna: Forni, 1970), V, 22-34; Alessandro D'Ancona, 'Del secentismo nella poesia cortigiana del secolo XV', in Id., *Pagine sparse di letteratura e di storia* (Florence: Sansoni, 1914), pp. 119-205; Erasmo Percopo, 'Un carme di Ercole Strozzi contro Panfilo Sasso', *SLI*, 4 (1902), 222-28; and Umberto Renda, *Il processo di Panfilo Sasso* (Modena: Ferraguti, 1911).

⁶⁷ *Pamphili Saxi poetae lepidissimi epigrammatum libri quatuor, distichorum libri duo* (Brescia: Bernardino Misinta, 1499).

and features from *Carm.* III, 13, the ode to the spring of Bandusia. Similarly, Ercole Strozzi⁶⁸ composed some Latin texts with Horace as one of his models.⁶⁹ Although he largely privileged and imitated the works of Ovid in preference all others, his father's example and the teachings of Battista Guarini encouraged him to experiment with some Horatian stylistic traits in his poetical production. Whereas the second and third books of his *Carminum liber* (posthumously printed with his father's works in 1513) include hexametric poems devoted to the praise of Bembo, Tebaldeo, Pontano and Ariosto, epicedia dedicated to a few relatives, and some love elegies, in the first book there is a series of religious hymns devoted to liturgical festivities. Although the content of these eulogies is traditionally Christian, their metrical forms and their structures are largely drawn from the Horatian odes. The hymn to the Nativity, 'Mater haud ullo temerate tacto', that to the Presentation to the Temple, 'Ora ab aetherno genitore nobis', and that to the Virgin Mary, 'Virgo auge sortem hominis deque', are written in Sapphic strophes, while the ode to Pentecost, 'Me prima Christus veritas illuminet', follows the scheme of Ipponattheus iambic trimeters. Moreover, Strozzi's religious poems employ many other textual memories, such as syntagms and expressions, derived from the Horatian corpus, even if inserted in completely different poetical contexts.

Yet the author who more than any other made the most of Horatian works by Strozzi and Codro, as well as the teachings of Battista Guarini, was Ludovico

⁶⁸ On Ercole Strozzi see Carmelo Monteforte, *Ercole Strozzi, poeta ferrarese: la vita, le sue poesie latine e volgari con un sonetto inedito* (Catania: La Sicilia, 1899); Alessandro Luzio and Rodolfo Renier, 'La cultura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga', in *GSLI*, 36 (1900), 325-49; Maria Wirtz, *Ercole Strozzi: poeta ferrarese, 1473-1508* (Ferrara: Zuffi, 1905); and Vecce, 'La filologia', 196.

⁶⁹ See Vecce, 'La filologia', 196. Ercole Strozzi's *Carminum liber* can be read in *Strozzi Poetae pater et filius*, pp. 1-83.

Ariosto. We have seen in the preceding chapter how multifaceted and profound Horatian influence was on Ariosto's vernacular production. The Latin lyricist had an analogous importance for the Ferrarese author's Latin works. Ariosto wrote the majority of his Latin texts in his youth and precisely fifty-seven out of the sixty-seven poems that form the corpus of his Latin lyrics were composed between 1494 and 1503.⁷⁰ Scholars have highlighted how these rhymes, despite their rhetorical refinement, often appear to be the stylistic exercises of a young poet who aims to imitate the features and forms of ancient works.⁷¹ Even though they may partially display characteristics and stylistic traits drawn from a close imitation of a classical model, it is still particularly noteworthy that Ariosto's texts have the Horatian *carmina* as their precise point of reference, demonstrating the poet's specific predilection for the Latin lyricist among the other classical authorities.⁷² However, for Ariosto the tendency to shape his poems in accordance with an overt re-modulation of classical forms and modes is never an end in itself, but frequently represents the formal counterpart to a wider practice of imitation, which also includes the development of those topics with which Horace extensively dealt in his

⁷⁰ Ariosto's *Carmina* are part of Ludovico Ariosto, *Opere minori*, ed. by Cesare Segre (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1954), pp. 3-105. Among the vast bibliography on Ariosto's Latin works, see CURCIO, pp. 99-104; Michele Catalano, 'Autografi e pretesi autografi ariosteschi', *Archivum Romanicum*, 9 (1925), 33-66; Giulio Bertoni, 'Il codice ferrarese dei *Carmina* di Ludovico Ariosto', *Archivum Romanicum*, 17 (1933), 619-58; Giosuè Carducci, 'La gioventù di Ludovico Ariosto e la poesia latina in Ferrara', in *Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Giosuè Carducci*, 30 vols (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1935-1940), XIII, 115-374; Carlo Grabher, *La poesia minore dell'Ariosto* (Rome: Edizioni Italiane, 1947); Scevola Mariotti, 'Per il riesame di un'ode latina dell'Ariosto', *IMU*, 2 (1959), 509-12; Elvira Pace, 'Le liriche latine dell'Ariosto', *GIF*, 14 (1961), 104-28; Giovanni Ponte, 'La personalità e l'arte dell'Ariosto nei *Carmina*', *Rassegna della Letteratura italiana*, 79 (1975), 34-45; Adriana Della Casa, 'Tre note ai *Carmina* dell'Ariosto', in *Studi di letteratura italiana in onore di Fausto Montanari* (Genoa: Il Melangolo, 1980), pp. 91-96; Alberto Casadei, 'Una nota autografa ariostesca e un manoscritto del carne *Ibis ad umbrosas*', *GSLI*, 168 (1991), 573-76; Stefano Carrai, 'Niccolò d'Arco personaggio di un'egloga ariostesca', in *La poesia pastorale nel Rinascimento*, pp. 293-306; Casadei, 'Ludovico Ariosto', in *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, VII.1, 777-822 (pp. 783-84); Pettinelli, 'Ariosto, Ludovico', 96-97; and Caterino, 'Filliroe e i suoi poeti', 203.

⁷¹ See Ponte, 'La personalità e l'arte dell'Ariosto nei *Carmina*', pp. 34-45.

⁷² See CURCIO, p. 99-104; and Giorgio Petrocchi, 'Orazio e Ariosto', in Id., *I fantasmi di Tancredi*, pp. 261-75,

production.⁷³ Ariosto wrote his lyrics according to the Alcaic, Asclepiadean, and Epodic schemes, shaping them on the basis of Horace's digressive pattern⁷⁴ and often studding his verses with syntagms and expressions of the Latin author, to the extent that some poems appear to be patchworks of Horatian *iuncturae*. On the other hand, he repeated Horatian topics in a personal and independent way, so that they were simultaneously the thematic complement of a wide-range and articulated form of imitation of the Latin model and an intimate expression of the Italian author's genuine feelings and mindset. The complex link between Ariosto's poetry and his circumstantial reality, one of the main thematic nuclei of his literary discourse, derives both its fundamental principle, and its features from Horace.⁷⁵ As with the Latin poet, Ariosto's intricate relationship with reality derives from the poet's awareness of the difficulties and harms of the present. His decision to retire amid quiet and composed scenery was taken not in order to forget current difficulties, but to derive from them the opportunity to rejoice, in turn made possible in the retired place to which the poet wishes to withdraw. From his first *carmen*, the Alcaic ode 'Ad Philiroen', the Italian poet proudly affirms his indifference towards the political problems that burdened the Peninsula at the time (such as the military descent of the French King Charles VIII into Italy), and states that he prefers to retire far from the concerns of the present.⁷⁶ Ariosto's refusal to participate in public and courtly life is composed following two Horatian texts (*Carm.* I, 26 and II, 11), but these literary references do not force us to consider the traits of the poet's composition as

⁷³ See Pettinelli, 'Ariosto, Ludovico', 96.

⁷⁴ On Ariosto's employment of Horatian feature of digression see Pettinelli, 'Ariosto, Ludovico', 96.

⁷⁵ See Lao Paoletti, 'Cronaca e letteratura nei *Carmina*', in *Ludovico Ariosto: lingua, stile, traduzione. Atti del congresso organizzato dai comuni di Reggio Emilia e Ferrara, 12-16 ottobre 1974*, ed. by Cesare Segre (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1976), pp. 265-82.

⁷⁶ See CURCIO, p. 100.

mannerist features of a sophisticated imitator of ancient commonplaces. On the contrary, in this ode Ariosto intimately displays his life ideal, with which he deals in many other Latin lyrics, as well as in his vernacular satires and his mature works. The same theme, in fact, is at the centre of both the second ode to Pandolfo Ariosto and the poem ‘Audivi, et timeo’, dedicated to Ercole Strozzi, where the poet confirms he believes that an existence devoted to literary *otia* is superior to any other form of life. The carmen to Alberto Pio, ‘Alberte, proles inclyta Caesarum’, confirms that Ariosto’s self-representation as a man of letters who aims to lead a retired, modest and peaceful existence is not counterfeit, but has a biographical foundation, since it appears as the life ideal that Gregorio da Spoleto, the author’s teacher and the addressee of the poem, convincingly presented to his pupils as the most perfect. However, the theme of retirement to a place of tranquillity so as to devote oneself to literary studies is neither the sole subject modulated in Ariosto’s *carmina*, nor the only one that has a strong connection with Horace. The Italian poet also deals with topics, such as the ingratitude of human beings, love sufferings, and the importance of true friendship. If the second of these does not always find its source in the texts of the Latin lyricist – although some love poems of Ariosto closely follow Horatian models (such as the rhyme ‘De Iulia’, in Alcaic strophes, which echoes *Carm.* IV, 4) – the other two themes mainly derive their forms from the corpus of the Latin poet’s odes and epistles. Finally, it is important to note that the majority of Ariosto’s lyrics have a relative or a friend as dedicatee. This proves that the Horatian trend of establishing a dialogue between the author and his fellows also represents a key feature of the Italian poet, and hence that the texts of the latter are thought to be

addressed to real interlocutors, a tendency that he developed in interesting ways in his satires.

Three other key figures of the humanistic literary scene of the last decades of the Quattrocento and the first of the sixteenth century were educated and developed their interest in Horatian production in the Emilian cultural milieu, even though their life circumstances later forced all three to move elsewhere. These humanists were Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli (1456-1524), Filippo Beroaldo Junior (1472-1518), and Giovan Battista Pio (1460-1540). The first of these left his native region during his twenties to go to Rome, Florence, and then Padua, where he studied Law.⁷⁷ In that city he assiduously frequented the palace of Bernardo Bembo, whom he had met in Tuscany. Thanks to this habitual attendance, he also became a close and influential friend of his host's son Pietro. After his degree, Augurelli remained in the Veneto as secretary to Nicolò Franco, bishop of Treviso, where he lived and lectured until his death.⁷⁸ He tirelessly devoted himself to literary practices and he composed many poetical works, including iambic verses and satirical *sermones*. His texts were first published in Verona in 1491, and then in Venice in 1505 by Manuzio.⁷⁹ Augurelli's satires display many Horatian traits, which the poet derived not only from the model

⁷⁷ On Augurelli see Augusto Serena, *Attorno a Giovanni Aurelio Augurello* (Treviso: Tipografia Turazza, 1904); Giuseppe Pavanello, *Un maestro del Quattrocento, Giovanni Aurelio Augurello* (Venice: Tipografia Emiliana, 1905); Gino Bottiglioni, 'Lirici latini del sel XV. Le Propaggini del circolo letterario mediceo fuori di Firenze', in *La Romagna*, 10 (1913), 116-20, 182-90, 267-78; CURCIO, p. 143; Giuseppe Praga, 'Un carme di Giovanni Aurelio Augurello per Alviso Cippico', *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, 28 (1939), 219-23; Carlo Lucchesi, *L'umanista riminese Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli* (Bologna: Deputazione di Storia Patria, 1958); Robert Weiss, 'Giovanni Aurelio Augurelli, Girolamo Avogadro, and Isabella d'Este', *IS*, 17 (1962), 5-10; and Id., 'Augurelli, Giovanni Aurelio', in *DBI*, IV (1962), 578-81.

⁷⁸ On Augurelli's influence on the authors of the Veneto region see Augusto Serena, *La cultura umanistica a Treviso nel secolo decimoquinto* (Venice: Tipografia Emiliana, 1912), pp. 181-200, 245-49, and 363-67; Pavanello, *Un maestro del Quattrocento*, and Armando Balduino, 'Le esperienze della poesia volgare', 362-67.

⁷⁹ *Iohannis Aurelii Augurelli Carmina* (Verona: [n. pub.], 1491) and *Iohannes Aurelius Augurellus* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio, 1505).

of the ancient author but also from the works of Codro, imitating his combination of specific Horatian features drawn from different texts of the model and then merged in the same poetical passage. A more subtle influence of the Latin poet can also be perceived in some of Augurelli's mature compositions, such as the *carmina* collected in the work *Geronticon* (printed in 1515 along with a heroic poem on alchemy, the *Chrysopoeia*).⁸⁰ Some of these lyrics deal with religious matters, but the opening poem, a hymn to poetry addressed to Pietro Lippomano, echoes some rhetorical forms and metaphorical images of the Horatian praises of poetical art, widespread in his *Carmina*.

Codro's model was particularly important to Filippo Beroaldo the Younger as well.⁸¹ He was the editor of the first edition of Codro's works (Bologna, 1502), whose example he treasured throughout his poetical production and whose lectures he followed in Bologna, along with those of his uncle Filippo Beroaldo the Elder. He later taught in Bologna, before moving to Rome, where Pope Julius II asked him to teach at the *Studium Urbis*. His humanist reputation is mainly associated with his exegetical work on Tacitus's *Annales*, the first six books of which he exquisitely edited and published in 1515.⁸² However, his literary fame was linked to the many *carmina* and epigrams he composed, and which were posthumously printed in 1530. In Rome he attended the Academy of Pomponio Leto, where the works of Horace

⁸⁰ *Ioannis Aurelii Augurelli Poetae Ariminensis Chrysopoeiae libri III et Geronticon liber I* (Venice: Simon Luerensis, 1515). On the *Chrysopoeia* see François Secret, 'L'édition par Frobenius de la *Chrysopoeia* d'Augurelli', *BHR*, 38 (1976), 111–12.

⁸¹ On Filippo Beroaldo the Younger see Jules Paquier, *De Philippi Beroaldi junioris vita et scriptis* (Paris: Leroux, 1900); CURCIO, p. 151; Ettore Paratore, 'Beroaldo junior, Filippo', in *DBI*, IX (1967), 384–88; Id., 'Un ignoto poeta della Roma di Leone X', in Id., *Spigolature romane e romanesche* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1967), pp. 75–86; and Donatella Coppini, 'Beroaldo il giovane, Filippo', in *EO*, III, 125–26.

⁸² *Publii Cornelii Taciti Libri quinque nouiter inuenti atque cum reliquis eius operibus editi* (Rome: Guilleret de Lotharingia, 1515).

were highly appreciated and studied. In that circle Beroaldo was stimulated to further develop his familiarity with and understanding of the Latin author, already highly appreciated thanks to the teachings of Codro. These renewed interests in the Latin lyricist find a clear echo in Beroaldo's *carmina*, which not only interchange texts with metrical structures drawn from the odes with others whose metres derive from the epodes, but also deal with many themes distinctive to the Latin author's poetics, written in forms that follow Horatian works.⁸³ These include Beroaldo's poem I, 11, devoted to the topic of the *carpe diem*, whose features are drawn from *Carm.* II, 22; and I, 11, or poem I, 5, where the author meditates over the ineluctability of death, echoing the modes of *Epod.* 1, 16. Moreover, Beroaldo does not only follow his model when dealing with philosophical topics (such as the opposition between richness and poverty or the Epicurean invitation to enjoy life before its decay), but also when depicting minor poetical scenes, as in his carmen I, 3 'Ad fontem Falerium', based on the forms of *Carm.* III, 13. Finally, he also derives a series of stylistic features, expressions and syntagms from the Latin author.⁸⁴ Like Beroaldo the Younger, Giovan Battista Pio was also a humanist who studied with Filippo Beroaldo the Elder.⁸⁵ He lectured first in Bologna and then (from 1537) in Rome,

⁸³ *Philippi Beroaldi Bononiensis iuniores carminum ad Augustum Trivultium libri III. Eiusdem epigrammaton liber ad Livium Podocatharum Cyprium* (Rome: Platyna, 1530). On Beroaldo's *Carmina* see Ettore Paratore, 'Riflessi romani degli eventi storici del primo Cinquecento nei *Carmina* di Filippo Beroaldo junior', in Id., *Spigolature romane e romanesche*, pp. 87-114; and Coppini, 'Beroaldo il giovane, Filippo', 125.

⁸⁴ See Coppini, 'Beroaldo il giovane, Filippo', p. 125.

⁸⁵ On Giovan Battista Pio see Giovanni Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi*, 9 vols (Bologna: Stamperia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1783, repr. Bologna: Forni, 1965), VII, 31-40, and IX, 168; Serafino Mazzetti, *Repertorio i tutti i professori antichi e moderni della famosa Università e dello Studio delle scienze di Bologna* (Bologna: Stamperia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1847), p. 106; Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists*, IV, 2826-29; Carlo Dionisotti, 'Giovan Battista Pio e Mario Equicola', in Id., *Gli umanisti e il volgare fra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1968), pp. 78-110; Valerio Del Nero, 'Filosofia e teologia nel commento di Giovanni Battista Pio a Lucrezio', *Interpres*, 6 (1985-86), 156-99; Ilona Opelt, 'Studi su Giovanni Battista Pio', in *L'educazione e formazione intellettuale nell'età dell'Umanesimo. Atti del*

and was strongly influenced by Horace in his literary production.⁸⁶ He composed a work, entitled *Elegidia* (1509), a collection of texts all composed in elegiac couplets and organized in five books.⁸⁷ Despite the use of a metre different from those employed by Horace, the poet derives many rhetorical traits and forms, as well as many thematic subjects, from the *Odes* and the *Epistles* of the Latin author. Pio deals with philosophical subjects, such as the passing of time or the iniquity of fortune, as in his elegy ‘Rara venit niveo mihi lux signanda lapillo’, but he also often praises the beauties and benefits of living retired in peaceful countryside; he celebrates literary *otium* as the best way of life, such as in his poem ‘Unda sitim rapidosque aurae sedate vapores’. During his esteemed career as a philologist, he also wrote some scattered exegetical notes on the Latin poet’s texts that were included in Scoto’s 1544 multiple commentary edition of Horace, analysed in chapter 2.

5.4 FROM ROME TO VENICE

During the late Quattrocento many humanists were introduced to Pomponio Leto’s academy, which Beroaldo attended in Rome, finding there a particularly stimulating cultural milieu where philological, exegetical and poetical interests in the entire Horatian corpus were developed. Among these humanists was Antonio Mancinelli, the author of the second humanistic commentary on Horace after that of Landino. Mancinelli made use of his familiarity with the Latin poet not only in his exegetical

secondo convegno internazionale, 1990, ed. by Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (Milan: Guerini, 1992), pp. 187-92; and Antonio Iurilli, ‘Pio, Giovanni Battista’, in *EO*, III, 427-28.

⁸⁶ See Iurilli, ‘Pio, Giovanni Battista’, 427-28.

⁸⁷ *Elegidia Ioannis Baptistae Pii Bononiensis* (Bologna: Antonio di Benedetto, 1509).

work, but also in his literary production.⁸⁸ He composed a vast corpus of Latin poems in various metres that he collected under the title of *Epigrammata*, printed first in Venice in 1500 and then in Rome in 1503.⁸⁹ Horace's mark is not the most evident in Mancinelli's rhymes, but Horatian influence is still manifest in some aspects of his works. Along with texts written in elegiac couplets and hexameters, Mancinelli often employed schemes derived from the Horatian corpus, with a predilection for the Sapphic strophe. Moreover, the Latin lyricist was a reference point in terms of style and rhetoric, since Mancinelli embellishes his verses with reminiscences and quotations of Horatian passages. This is also the case in poetically relevant positions, such as at the beginning of his proemial epigram where the dedicatee, Gabriele Gabrieli, is defined by the poet as his 'praesidium et decus' (protector and honour), exactly as the Latin poet referred to Maecenas in *Carm* I, 1, 2. The example of the reception of Horace in Mancinelli's texts is just one of the many literary forms of a revival of the Latin poet, and, in more general terms, of classical literature, which took place in the Roman cultural milieu during the final decades of the fifteenth century and the first ones of the Cinquecento.⁹⁰ During the papacy of Alexander VI (1492-1503), and above all under Julius II (1503-1513) and Leo X (1513-1521), Rome became the cradle of the Renaissance arts and one of the most vibrant centres for the humanities, where oratory and epistolography flourished,

⁸⁸ On Mancinelli and Horace see Donatella Coppini, 'Mancinelli, Antonio', 335.

⁸⁹ The two editions are *Antonii Mancinelli Epigrammata* (Venice: Filippo Pinci, 1500), and *Antonii Mancinelli de parentum cura in liberos. De filiorum erga parentes obedientia honore et pietate. Primus epigrammaton libellus* (Rome: Eucario Silber, 1503). Mancinelli's *Epigrammata* can now be read in Antonio Mancinelli, *Gli epigrammi*, ed. by Franco Lazzari and Mario Lozzi (Tivoli: Tored-Centro Studi Antonio Mancinelli, 2009).

⁹⁰ On the teaching of the classics in the Roman *studium* see also Campanelli and Agata, 'La lettura dei classici nello *Studium Urbis*', pp. 93-195; and IURILLI, p. 24.

alongside Ciceronian prose and Latin poetry.⁹¹ Many men of letters spent part of their lives in the eternal city, being inspired by its cultural scene and in turn contributing to its development and improvement. Among those we might mention there is a long list of illustrious names, but, to remain focused on those figures linked to the fortune of Horace, it is worth referring here to eminent *literati* such as Giovanni Benedetto Lampridio (1463-1539), Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), Marcantonio Flaminio (1497-1550), and Giovanni Della Casa (1503-1556).

Lampridio lived in Rome for more than a decade between 1515 and 1526, with the exception of a two-year sojourn in Florence (1521-1523). He was asked to move to Rome by Pope Leo X, who admired his erudition and philological ability. He taught Greek at the *studium* until 1526, before moving first to Padua, where he offered private lessons to many students including Della Casa, and then to Mantua where he became the preceptor of the son of Duke Federico II Gonzaga.⁹² During the

⁹¹ On early sixteenth-century Roman humanism see at least John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1521* (Durham: Durham University Press, 1979); Id., *Rome and the Renaissance* (London: Variorum Reprints 1981); Marc Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence* (Geneva: Droz, 1980); Vincenzo De Caprio, 'Intellettuali e mercato del lavoro nella Roma medicea', *Studi Romani*, 29 (1981), 29-46; Id., 'L'area umanistica romana', *Studi Romani*, 29 (1981), 321-35; John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen in the Eve of Reformation* (Baltimore-London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983); Alessandro Ferrajoli, *Il ruolo della corte di Leone X 1514-1516*, ed. by Vincenzo De Caprio (Rome: Bulzoni, 1984); Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985); Thomas Frenz, *Die Kanzlei der Päpste der Hochrenaissance (1471-1527)* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1986), *Roma, centro ideale della cultura dell'antico nei secoli quindicesimo e sedicesimo: da Martino V al Sacco di Roma (1417-1527)*, ed. by Silvia Danesi Squarzina (Milan: Electa, 1989); Vincenzo De Caprio, *La tradizione e il trauma. Idee del Rinascimento romano* (Manziana: Vecchiarelli, 1992); Gennaro Savarese, *La cultura a Roma tra Umanesimo ed Ermetismo (1480-1540)* (Rome: De Rubeis, 1993); and Christopher Celenza, *Renaissance Humanism and the Papal Curia: Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger's 'De Curiae Commodis'* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

⁹² On Lampridio see Luigi Cisorio, *Medaglie umanistiche con un epilogo sul Cinquecento cremonese* (Cremona: Stabilimento tipografico della Provincia, 1919), pp. 47-57; Antonio Santosuosso, 'Pier Vettori e Benedetto Lampridio', *La Bibliofilia*, 80 (1978), 155-58; Francesco Piovan, 'Lampridio, Bembo, e altri (schede d'archivio)', *IMU*, 30 (1987), 179-97; Stefano Benedetti, 'Lampridio, Giovanni Benedetto', in *DBI*, LXIII (2004), 266-69; Vecce, 'La filologia', 201; and Aldo Onorato, 'Un umanista cremonese del primo Cinquecento: Giovanni Benedetto Lampridio', *Studi Umanistici*, 2 (1991), 115-80.

years he spent in Rome, Lampridio developed a strong interest in the odes of Pindar, whose editor, Zaccaria Calliergi, he must have frequented.⁹³ The texts of the Greek lyricist not only caught the humanist's attention from an exegetical and philological point of view, but also from the perspective of poetical imitation. Lampridio, indeed, was the first modern author to compose Pindaric Latin compositions. Along with Pindar, the other classical poet Lampridio intensely admired was Horace, whose features and modes he reproduced in many of his compositions. Just as he composed some texts in accordance with the example of the Greek author, the humanist followed Horace's model in other poems in terms of metre, syntactic structures, prosodic construction of the sentences, stylistic features, rhetorical images, and quotations of syntagms and hemistiches. Moreover, in those texts in which Lampridio displays a structural or rhetorical reception of Horace he also deals with themes drawn from the Latin poet. He celebrates friendship and composes eulogies for his friend, as well as praises of the countryside and the literary *otium*, whereas his other poems generally present an encomiastic or a funerary content. Lampridio's verses were edited by Lodovico Dolce and posthumously published by Giolito in 1550.⁹⁴ The volume comprises thirty-nine poems in total (thirty-seven Pindaric odes, seven Horatian *carmina*, three hexametric satires with Juvenal's traits, and five epigrams).

The sophisticated and culturally lively Rome of Leo X that hosted, excited, and motivated Lampridio was the same city in which Bembo lived for nearly six years (1513-1518). However, during this period the Venetian humanist was not devoted to

⁹³ *Pindari carmina graece cum scholiis* (Rome: Zaccaria Calliergi, 1515). On Calliergi see Elpidio Mioni, 'Calliergi, Zaccaria', in *DBI*, XVI (1973), 750-53. On his relationship with Lampridio see Benedetti, 'Lampridio, Giovanni Bendetto', 267.

⁹⁴ *Benedicti Lampridii necnon Iohannis Baptistae Amalthei carmina* (Venice: Giolito, 1550).

literary pursuits, since his position of *segretario dei brevi* to the pontiff occupied the majority of his time. Bembo, instead, mainly composed his works during his sojourn in Urbino (1505-1513) and his stay in the Veneto, alternating between Padua and Venice (1518-1538). Along with writing his vernacular prose and verse works, he also re-shaped and corrected his Latin *carmina*,⁹⁵ which dated back to his youth and were the proof of the non-Ciceronian quality of his early interests as an author who made of Ciceronianism one of the cornerstones of his mature poetics.⁹⁶ In his Latin texts, Bembo displayed a combined imitation of several poets (above all Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, but also Catullus, Propertius, Tibullus, and Martial), which strikingly contrasted with the Ciceronian precept of following one single illustrious author that the Venetian humanist later helped to theorise and that he applied in the critical and literary works, both Latin and Italian, of his maturity. This rule was mainly relevant for prose, while poetry conventionally had a much higher degree of

⁹⁵ A modern edition of Bembo's Latin poems is Pietro Bembo, *Carmina* (San Mauro Torinese: RES, 1990). On the history of the different phases of the work see Marco Pecoraro, *Per la storia dei Carmi del Bembo: una redazione non vulgata* (Venice-Rome: Istituto per la Collaborazione Editoriale, 1959); and Carlo Dionisotti, 'Appunti sul Bembo', *IMU*, 8 (1965), 223-42 (pp. 278-91). For a general analysis of the *Carmina* see Giovanni Pesenti, 'Poesie latine di Pietro Bembo. Note e Aneddoti', *GSLI*, 65 (1915), 347-54, 69 (1917), 341-50; Giancarlo Mazzacurati, 'Pietro Bembo', in *Storia della cultura veneta*, III.2, 1-59 (pp. 1-7); Piero Floriani, *Bembo e Castiglione. Studi sul classicismo del Cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1976); Luigi Castagna, 'Il latino poetico di Pietro Bembo', *Sileno*, 22 (1996), 5-29; Massimo Danzi, 'Bembo, le vie e l'attualità dell'"antico" nella cultura del primo Cinquecento', *Schede Umanistiche*, 2 (2005), 29-45; Zanato, 'Pietro Bembo', 337-46; and Charles Fantazzi, 'Bembo, Pietro', in *BENLW*, II, 925-27.

⁹⁶ On Bembo's Ciceronianism see Giorgio Santangelo, *Il Bembo critico e il principio d'imitazione* (Florence: Sansoni, 1950); *Le Epistole 'De imitatio' di Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola e di Pietro Bembo*, ed. by Giorgio Santangelo (Florence: Olschki, 1954); Giuseppe Mazzacurati, 'Pietro Bembo e il primato della scrittura', in Id. *Il Rinascimento dei moderni. La crisi culturale del XVI secolo e la negazione delle origini* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1985), pp. 65-147; Vecce, 'La filologia', 155-63. More in general, on the question of sixteenth-century Ciceronianism see Remigio Sabbadini, *Storia del ciceronianismo e di altre questioni letterarie dell'età della Rinascenza* (Turin: Loescher, 1885); Francesco Tateo, 'La formazione del canone degli scrittori nella scuola umanistica', in *Il 'minore' nella storiografia letteraria*, ed. by Enzo Esposito (Ravenna: Longo, 1984), pp. 203-85; Id., 'Ciceronianismus', in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, ed. by Gert Ueding, Walther Jens, and Gert Barner, 9 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), II, 225-39; Gian Mario Cao, 'L'eredità picchiana: Giovanfrancesco Pico tra Sesto Empirico e Savonarola', in *Pico, Poliziano e l'Umanesimo di fine Quattrocento. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. 4 novembre – 31 dicembre 1994*, ed. by Paolo Viti (Florence: Olschki, 1994), pp. 231-45; Francesco Tateo, 'I due Pico e la retorica', in *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola* (Florence: Olschki, 1997), pp. 451-64; and Charles Fantazzi, 'Imitation, Emulation, Ciceronianism, Anti-Ciceronianism', in *BENLW*, I, 141-53.

liberty in terms of references, but the excess of freedom that Bembo perceived in his juvenile poetical Latin texts forced him to re-work them until his final years. He could not, however, entirely expunge the traces of fifteenth-century humanist syncretism that were present in his Latin verses, which reflect both Poliziano's lesson on poetical creativity,⁹⁷ and the milieu in which their original core was conceived, the Greek school of Costantino Lascaris that Bembo attended in Messina between 1492 and 1494.⁹⁸ It was probably for this reason that he never published his Latin *carmina*, which were printed only after his death in Venice in 1552.⁹⁹ The Sicilian milieu did not simply affect the rhetorical interplay among many authorities in the author's lines, but also the poetical figures (such as Pan, Faunus, Polyphemus and Galatea) and landscapes depicted in Bembo's *carmina*, as well as their bucolic, atemporal atmosphere.¹⁰⁰ Many of these features derive from Virgil, but the serene celebration of the countryside and the exaltation of the *otia* in opposition to the exhausting travails of political life (which find a remarkable modulation in these poems) is a clear Horatian thematic memory. If Bembo's Latin rhymes stylistically

⁹⁷ On Poliziano's relation with Bembo see Attilio Bettinzoli, 'Poliziano tra Bernardo e Pietro Bembo', in Id., *Daedaleum Iter*, pp. 353-74; and Luigi Castagna, 'Il *Politiani tumulus* di Pietro Bembo', *Aevum*, 69 (1995), 533-53.

⁹⁸ On Bembo's Greek education in Messina see Pietro Floriani, 'La giovinezza umanistica di Pietro Bembo fino al periodo ferrarese', *GSLI*, 143 (1966), 27-71; Mazzacurati, 'Pietro Bembo', 1-7; Roberta Rosada, "'Graecolo tuto". Appunti sulla formazione umanistica greca del giovane Pietro Bembo', in *Tra commediografi e letterati. Rinascimento e Settecento veneziano*, ed. by Tiziana Agostini and Emilio Lippi (Ravenna: Longo, 1997), pp. 43-60; and Zanato, 'Pietro Bembo', 337-46.

⁹⁹ Pietro Bembo, *Carminus libellus* (Venice: Gualtiero Scoto, 1552).

¹⁰⁰ The Sicilian sojourn influenced also the hexametric poem *De Aetna*. See Pietro Bembo, *De Aetna liber*, ed. by Giovanni Mardesteig (Verona: Bodoni, 1969). On this work see Maria Naselli, 'L'eruzione etnea descritta dal Bembo', *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale*, 30 (1934), 116-23; Curt Ferdinand Bühler, 'Manuscript Corrections in the Aldine Edition of Bembo's *De Aetna*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 45 (1951), 136-42; Ross Kilpatrick, 'The *De Aetna* of Pietro Bembo: a Translation', *Studies in Philology*, 83 (1986), 330-58; Bianca Maria Mariano, 'Il *De Aetna* di Pietro Bembo e le varianti dell'edizione 1530', *Aevum*, 65 (1991), 441-52; Marie Viallon-Schoneveld, 'Pietro Bembo: *De Aetna*', in *Figurations du volcan à la Renaissance*, ed. by Dominique Bertrand (Paris: Champion, 2001), pp. 101-18; and Gernot Michael Müller, 'Zur Signatur frühneuzeitlicher Naturwahrnehmung und deren Inszenierung in Pietro Bembo's Dialog *De Aetna*', in *Möglichkeiten des Dialogs. Struktur und Funktion einer literarischen Gattung zwischen Mittelalter und Renaissance in Italien*, ed. by Klaus Hempfer (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002), pp. 279-312.

refer and allude to many classical authorities, and from a metrical point of view display mainly epigrammatic forms (thirty-seven of forty-one texts in the collection are in elegiac couplets), the subjects are predominantly drawn from Virgil and Horace. It is worth noting that these thematic traits can also be observed in some other juvenile Latin compositions of the poet that were later omitted from the printed corpus; these include the hexametrical epistle ‘Cur tua tam subitis anguntur pectora curis’, written in 1489 and addressed to the young Pietro’s father, which celebrates literary *otium* and praises the rural refuge represented by his villa of S. Maria di Non.¹⁰¹ These aspects of Bembo’s Latin poetical production represent only some facets of the multi-layered and many-sided relationship the Venetian author had with Horace, an author whose example he deeply internalized and to whose dissemination throughout the sixteenth-century literary world he so importantly contributed.¹⁰²

Another protagonist of the Roman literary scene, Marcantonio Flaminio, like Bembo and in part Lampridio also received a sophisticated education elsewhere and composed some lyrics in accordance with Horatian modes and features. He spent eight years in the capital of the Papal State as secretary to Gian Matteo Gilberti, whom he followed to Verona when he was named bishop of that diocese in 1528. He later moved to Naples where he made contact with Juan de Valdes,¹⁰³ whose friends, such as Alvise Priuli and, above all, Reginald Pole, he followed in Viterbo and later Trento, where he attended the first meetings of the Counter-Reformation council.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ On this text see Carlo Dionisotti, ‘Appunti sul Bembo’; and Zanato, ‘Pietro Bembo’, 338.

¹⁰² I examined many other aspects of Bembo’s complex relationship with Horace in section 4.3.

¹⁰³ On Valdes there is a vast scholarship. See at least José C. Nieto, *Juan de Valdes and the Origins of the Spanish and Italian Reformation* (Geneva: Droz, 1970); Juan de Valdes, *Alfabeto christiano*, ed. by Marcel Firpo (Turin: Einaudi, 1994); and Id., *Le cento e dieci divine considerazioni*, ed. by Edmondo Cione (Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1944).

¹⁰⁴ On Flaminio see Alessandro Pastore, ‘Flaminio, Marcantonio’, in *DBI*, XLVIII (1997), 282-88; Ercole Cuccoli, *Marco Antonio Flaminio* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1897); Alessandro Pastore, ‘Due

Apart from a few poetical texts composed by the poet in his youth, which were collected in a short volume entitled *Carminum libellus* and published in Fano in 1515 together with Marullo's *Neniae*,¹⁰⁵ Flaminio wrote the majority of his Latin lyrics after the late 1520s. In Verona he composed a poetical paraphrase of the Psalms (printed in Venice in 1538),¹⁰⁶ and in Naples, along with many other odes and epigrams, a series of *lusus pastorales*: compositions set in a bucolic or Arcadian environment, composed in classical style and rhetorically inclined towards literary paganism, but which lacked the traditional allegorical meanings of the bucolic poems. In 1548 one of his cousins edited two books of his poems and his Biblical paraphrases in Lyon, while simultaneously almost his entire production was printed in the multi-authored volume *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*, including alongside Flaminio's Latin works those by Bembo, Navagero, Castiglione, and Cotta.¹⁰⁷ The humanist's main point of reference in terms of literary imitation was Catullus, but in a large portion of his poems Flaminio associated with or even substituted the example of Catullus with that of Horace, his second most significant

biblioteche umanistiche del Cinquecento (i libri del cardinal Pole e di Marcantonio Flaminio)', *Rinascimento*, 19 (1979), 269-90; Marcel Firpo, 'L'epistolario di Marcantonio Flaminio', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 91 (1979), 653-62; Alessandro Pastore, *Marcantonio Flaminio. Fortune e sfortune di un chierico nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1981); and Aldo Toffoli, 'Le *Annotationum Sylvae* di Marcantonio Flaminio', *Atti e Memorie dell'Ateneo di Treviso*, 17 (1999-2000), 163-215.

¹⁰⁵ *Michaelis Tarchaniotae Marulli neniae. Eiusdem epigrammata nunquam alias impressa. Marci Antonii Flaminij carminum libellus. Eiusdem ecloga Thyrsis* (Fano: Girolamo Soncino, 1515).

¹⁰⁶ *Marci Antonii Flaminii paraphrasis in duo et triginta Psalmos* (Venice: Giovanni Padovano, 1538). On this work see Monica Bottai, 'La *Paraphrasis in triginta Psalmos versibus scripta* di Marcantonio Flaminio: un esempio di poesia religiosa del XVI secolo', *Rinascimento*, 40 (2000), 157-265.

¹⁰⁷ The two volumes are *Marci Antonii Flaminii carminum libri duo. Eiusdem paraphrasis in triginta psalmos, versibus scripta* (Lyon: Sébastien Gryphe, 1548), and *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum, Bembo, Navagerius, Castilione, Cotta, Flaminio* (Venice: Valgrisi, 1548). The modern edition of Flaminio's Latin *Carmina* is: Marco Antonio Flaminio, *Carminum libri VIII*, ed. by Massimo Scorsone (San Mauro Torinese: RES, 1993). On Flaminio's *Carmina* see CURCIO, p. 149; Massimo Scorsone, 'Musae severiores. Della lirica sacra di Marcantonio Flaminio', *Atti dell'Istituto veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 155 (1996-1997), 83-115; Giovanni Ferroni, 'Dulces lusus'. *Lirica pastorale e libri di poesia nel Cinquecento* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2012); and Id., 'Liber Ultimus. Note sui *De rebus divinis carmina* di Marco Antonio Flaminio', in *Roma pagana e Roma cristiana nel Rinascimento*, ed. by Luisa Rotondi Secchi Tarugi (Florence: Franco Cesati, 2014), pp. 301-10.

classical model. He not only wrote his *lusus* and some of his classicising poems in Horatian metres (such as the Alcaic, Sapphic, and Asclepiadean), but also many of his lyrical paraphrases of the Psalms, where he employed the Epodic schemes as well as the iambic or the Pithyambic systems to deal with Christian subjects, like Marullo and Geraldini before him. He mainly followed the example of Horace in terms of stylistic features, rhetorical modes, and poetical images in those compositions devoted to private topics or religious hymns, neglecting to compose political or ethical odes. His reception of the Latin poet is more evident in those *carmina* or epistles in which Flaminio praises friendship, forgives his fellows' weaknesses, celebrates the joys of a return after a trip, or deals with his affection for modest and humble things. He transfers the Horatian prayer to place a clod of earth over the tumulus of Archyta (*Carm.* I, 28) in the pastoral scene of his epigram 'Sic Pan bicornis, et Pales vitam tuam' (IV, 10), as well as he addresses literary pagan hymns to Olympic deities, such as Apollo (I, 22), Diana (I, 34), Bacchus (I, 46, and I, 53), the Graces (I, 29), and the Muses (VI, 2), in accordance with Horatian metres and features. Horace is also the main reference point in some encomiastic compositions, such as in the text 'Scribes Bentivoli fortia principis', addressed to Filippo Beroaldo the Younger. Flaminio declares to his friend his intention to deal with love in his lyrics rather than with epic battles and military deeds. The ways through which the poet describes this palinode not only echo those of Horace's *Carm.* I, 7, but, above all, those of *Carm.* I, 6, an ode in major Sapphic strophes (exactly as in Flaminio's poem) where the Latin author openly states to his friend Agrippa that his lyre could not sing of belligerent facts, but of 'proelia virginum / sectis in iuvenes unguibus

acrium' (I, 6, 16-17 [girls fierce in battle with closely-trimmed nails, attacking young men]).

It is particularly interesting to note that whilst Bembo, Lampridio, and Flaminio lived many years in a Roman milieu which was very receptive to their literary interests and Horatian penchants, the three men of letters were educated elsewhere (Lampridio in Padua, Bembo between Padua, Venice, and Messina, and Flaminio in Bologna and later Padua); all three spent large part of their lives in the Veneto region. It is well known that from the mid 1490s, when traditional fifteenth-century humanistic culture entered a crisis (partially because of the contemporary death of its most eminent representatives, such as Ermolao Barbaro, Poliziano, Giovanni Pico, Giorgio Merula, and Pontano, as well as the end of the political era of Lorenzo de' Medici and the beginning of the Wars of Italy), Venice took over Florence's role as guarantor of humanistic culture and the Peninsula's leading cultural centre.¹⁰⁸ The new cradle of philological studies, classical exegesis, erudite enterprises, and the printing industry was also the centre for many forms of the reception of antiquity and the reappraisal of its models in terms of philosophical and literary practice. Of course, in Italy there were other centres that developed a wealth of cultural activities, but nowhere with the intensity and concentration observable in Venice, Padua, and the surrounding areas. In this milieu, many literary pursuits aimed to renovate contemporary literature by furthering links with classical works, which were always seen as points of reference according to which authors could make any form of rhetorical, stylistic, and thematic experiments. As the works of Lampridio, Bembo,

¹⁰⁸ See Vecce, 'La filologia', 126; and Alberto Asor Rosa, 'Apogeo e crisi della civiltà letteraria italiana', in *Letteratura italiana. Storia e geografia*, ed. by Alberto Asor Rosa, 3 vols (Turin: Einaudi, 1987-1989), II.1, 3-21 (p. 10).

and Flaminio show, Horace was foremost among the classical authorities taken into consideration. This can be observed also in the poetical compositions of many other authors (such as Andrea Navagero, Giovanni Cotta, Girolamo and Giovan Battista Amalteo, and Giovanni Della Casa) who lived in the Veneto region in the first half of the Cinquecento and who contributed enormously to the fortune of Horace, since they considered his lyrics one of the main reference points and models for their literary production.

Andrea Navagero (1483-1529) was a Venetian nobleman and disciple of Sabellico who devoted his life both to political duties (becoming official historian of the Republic, and then Venetian ambassador to Spain and France) and to his humanistic interests (working as chief librarian at the Marciana library, co-editing a number of classical texts with Manuzio, including the rhetorical works of Cicero [1514], Virgil [1514], and Cicero's orations [1519]).¹⁰⁹ Throughout his life he also wrote Latin verse, which he collected in a volume entitled *Lusus* because of the bucolic atmosphere, deprived of allegorical meanings, of some of his compositions that are along the same lines as several of Bembo and Flaminio's works. Navagero's forty-seven lyrics and his orations were posthumously printed in 1530 by a friend of

¹⁰⁹ On Navagero see Emanuele Antonio Cicogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, 6 vols (Venice: Picotti, 1824-1854 repr. Bologna: Forni, 1982), VI.1, 173-348; Mario Cermenati, 'Un diplomatico naturalista del Rinascimento. Andrea Navagero', *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 24 (1912), 164-205; Claudio Griggio, 'Andrea Navagero e l'*Itinerario* in Spagna (1524-1528)', in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Marco Pecoraro*, ed. by Bianca Maria Da Rif and Claudio Griggio, 2 vols (Florence: Olschki, 1991), I, 153-77; Id., 'Il frammento della *Storia veneta* di Andrea Navagero. Appunti di storiografia veneziana nell'età del Rinascimento', in *Tra storia e simbolo. Studi dedicati a Ezio Raimondi dai direttori, redattori e dall'editore di 'Lettere italiane'* (Florence: Olschki, 1994), pp. 81-98; Cammy R. Brothers, 'The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra. The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V', *Muqarnas*, 11 (1994), 79-102; Bruno Basile, 'Andrea Navagero e il mito dell'Alhambra', *FC*, 21 (1996), 255-63; and Igor Melani, 'Navagero, Andrea', in *DBI*, LXXVIII (2013), 32-35.

the author, Girolamo Fracastoro.¹¹⁰ While many of his poems reproduce the stylistic traits and forms of Virgilian idylls or are elegies with definite Catullian traits, many others display distinctive Horatian traits in terms of metres, features, images, and themes. Navagero privileges Sapphic strophes, but he also wrote texts in Alcaic or Epodic systems. Horace is clearly alluded to when the author deals with palinodes or his poetical choices, such as, for instance, in carmen 36, ‘Qui modo ingentes animo parabam’, where he needs to justify his decision to sing of love rather than of arms. The poet also takes the Latin lyricist as his main point of reference when he modulates classicising praises of ancient gods, such as in his Sapphic hymn ‘Dia Tithoni senioris uxor’, addressed to Diana, as the moon, in accordance with the *Carmen saeculare*’s forms. Just as Navagero interchanges between texts that follow the Catullian or Virgilian example and others displaying Horatian traits, another Veneto poet, Giovanni Cotta da Legnago (1480-1510), combines in his *carmina*¹¹¹ features and modes mainly drawn from Catullus with texts closely imitating the Horatian odes.¹¹² This is the case above all in those texts dealing with civil or political-military matters. Celebrating his patron, the general of the Venetian army Bartolomeo d’Alviano who defeated imperial forces in Cadore in 1508, Cotta wrote

¹¹⁰ *Andreae Navagerii patricii Veneti orationes duae, carminaque nonnulla* (Venice: Giovanni Tacuino, 1530). A modern edition of Navagero’s Latin poem is Giovanni Cotta and Andrea Navagero, *Carmina* (San Mauro Torinese: RES, 1991), pp. 27-82. See also Andrea Navagero, *Lusus*, ed. by Alice Wilson (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1973). On Navagero’s Latin work see CURCIO, p. 146; Claudio Griggio, ‘Per l’edizione dei *Lusus* del Navagero’, *Atti dell’Istituto veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 135 (1976-77), 87-111; Davide Canfora, ‘La produzione latina dell’età umanistica’, in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, X (*La Tradizione dei Testi*), pp. 687-88; and Vecce, ‘La filologia’, 136.

¹¹¹ *Actii Synceri Sannazarii Odae, eiusdem elegia de malo punico. Johannis Cottae Carmina. Marci Antonii Flaminii Carmina* (Venice: [n. pub.], 1528). Cotta’s *Carmina* can now be read in Cotta and Navagero, *Carmina*, pp. 5-25.

¹¹² On Cotta see Giambattista Carlo Giuliani, ‘Giovanni Cotta, Umanista Veronese del secolo XVI’, *ASI*, 5 (1889), 50-61; Rocco Murari, ‘Due epigrammi e una lettera inedita di Giovanni Cotta a Marin Sanudo’, *Ateneo Veneto*, 23 (1900), 148-57; CURCIO, pp. 146-47; Vittorio Mistruzzi, ‘Giovanni Cotta’, *GSLI*, 22-23 (1924), 1-132; Giovanni Battista Pighi, *Giovanni Cotta poeta e diplomatico legnaghese del Rinascimento* (Verona: Palazzo Giuliani, 1967); Roberto Ricciardi, ‘Cotta, Giovanni’, in *DBI*, XXX (1984), 453-56; and Vecce, ‘L’egloga *Melisaesus*’.

a poem, ‘O quae alma grato carmine fortium’, which deliberately echoes *Carm.* IV, 4 and IV, 14, and their respective praises of the victories of Drusus and Tiberius (15 BC) over two Germanic populations, the Vindelici and the Raeti.¹¹³ The Italian author chooses the same metric scheme (the Alcaic strophe) of Horatian precedents and follows the Latin poet’s features in terms of images, metaphorical descriptions, structure, and style, allowing the victory of d’Alviano to be proclaimed and exalted both through the ode he composes, and the implicit comparison with the illustrious Latin generals. Girolamo Amalteo (1507-1574) also wrote his compositions alternately in accordance with the examples of Catullus and Horace.¹¹⁴ He was a medical doctor and a lecturer of moral philosophy at Padua University, who cultivated literary interests. Along with the Counter-Reformation heroic poem *Gigantomachia haeretica*, he wrote several epigrams and *carmina*, in which he invites human beings not to care of fortune and to rejoice in the beauties of the countryside, whose peace, particularly apt for humanistic study, he extolls in the Alcaic ode ‘O quae rotatu vecta volubili’, addressed to Maximilian King of Bohemia. One of Girolamo’s younger brothers, Giovan Battista Amalteo (1525-1573) was also a renowned Neo-Latin poet. He studied in Venice and Padua, travelled around Europe and then became secretary to Cardinal Borromeo, whom he followed to Milan.¹¹⁵ He composed several Latin idylls, erotic epigrams, and various *carmina*, in

¹¹³ See CURCIO, p. 147; and Ricciardi, ‘Cotta, Giovanni’, 454, where the scholar notes that Cotta ‘celebrò la sua vittoria con un’ode alcaica, in cui alla maniera di Orazio salutava il condottiero che “aveva rintuzzato le minacce della superba Germania” (Mistruzzi, ‘Cotta, Giovanni’, 126)’.

¹¹⁴ On Girolamo Amalteo see CURCIO, pp. 148-49; Alfredo Lazzarini, ‘Su di un celebre epigramma latino di Girolamo Amalteo’, *Rivista letteraria*, 9 (1937), 19-21; Ciro Perna, ‘Un madrigalista inedito del secondo Cinquecento’, *GSLI*, 128 (2011), 224-48 (pp. 241-42); and Matteo Venier, ‘Poesia latina degli Amalteo’, *Aevum*, 80 (2006), 687-716.

¹¹⁵ On Giovan Battista Amalteo see Aristide Sala, *Biografia di San Carlo Borromeo* (Milan: Boniardi, 1858), pp. 14 and 241-247; CURCIO, pp. 148-49; Luigi Berra, ‘Un umanista del Cinquecento al servizio degli uomini della controriforma’, *L’Arcadia*, 1 (1917), 20-48, 2 (1917), 47-86, 3 (1918),

which he often takes inspiration from Horace to sketch convivial and rural scenes. Sometimes the Latin poet even offered features and forms to deal with more austere matters, such as meditations over the passing of time and death. Amalteo's epicedium for Orazio Farnese in Alcaic strophes, 'Caelo propinquans muniat urbium', offers an example of this trend. His hexametric epistles also display many Horatian traits. Stylistic and rhetorical tones are often drawn from Horace, as well as many themes, such as the praise of friendship and solitary georgic landscapes in which to retire, even though some other poetical letters deal with topics that do not have classical origins and, instead, deal with Christian subjects. Part of the corpus of his poems was published in Venice in 1550, against the will of the author, in a book containing along with his compositions those of Lampridio. His complete literary production was only printed posthumously in a volume that collected the works of Giovan Battista together with those of his two brothers, Girolamo and Cornelio.¹¹⁶ The editor of the Amalteo's works was Girolamo Aleandro the Younger (1574-1629), a well-known poet of the early seventeenth century and an admirer of Horace's poetical model. He wrote many Latin and vernacular rhymes, among which there are some particularly polished odes wittily imitating Horatian forms and traits; among these is the Alcaic carmen, 'Iustum et sagacis consilii virum', composed for the death of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli on the basis of *Carm.* II, 10, with images and stylistic traits also drawn from *Carm.* I, 29, and III, 3.¹¹⁷

117-34; Anna Buiatti, 'Amalteo, Giovanni Battista', in *DBI*, II (1960), 629-30; and Matteo Venier, 'Poesia latina degli Amalteo', 687-716.

¹¹⁶ *Trium fratrum Amaltheorum Hieronimi, Johannis Baptistae et Cornelii carmina* (Venice: Andrea Muschio, 1627).

¹¹⁷ In CURCIO, p. 94 the Alcaic poem is erroneously attributed to Girolamo Aleandro the Elder. Since the lyric mourns the death of Pinelli (who died in 1601), the author must be Girolamo Aleandro the Younger, because his uncle, Girolamo the Elder, died in 1542, when Pinelli was seven years old.

In contrast to these cases in which Horace's authority, although essential, is often combined or interchanged with that of other classical authors, another poet who composed his Latin rhymes in the Veneto during the mid-Cinquecento explicitly takes the Latin lyricist as his main point of reference. This author is Giovanni Della Casa (1503-1556), who composed the majority of his Latin poetical works during his stay in the abbey of Nervesa, near Treviso, between 1551 and 1555. In chapter 4, we have already examined the importance of the Horatian model in Della Casa's vernacular compositions. Yet whereas in his Italian book of rhymes Horace was an important cornerstone, whose features, however, needed to be composed and tempered in accordance to the unquestionable precepts and forms of Petrarch, in his *Carminum Liber* the Latin poet is instead taken as the key and undisputed reference point.¹¹⁸ In his Latin poems Della Casa does not simply employ Horatian metres, images and features drawn from the *Odes*, as well as the *Satires* and *Epistles*, but he also follows the structures and patterns of his model, whose themes are usually at the centre of the private and subjective poetical investigations of the Italian poet. Della Casa, in fact, did not simply find in Horace an eminent authority to follow from a rhetorical point of view in order to embellish or solemnize his verses; the works of the Latin lyricist also represent an illustrious and distinguished precedent in which those subjects particularly dear to the Florentine poet had often been previously

¹¹⁸ Della Casa's *Carminum liber* can be read in Francesco Berni, Baldassarre Castiglione, and Giovanni Della Casa, *Carmina*, ed. by Massimo Scorsone (San Mauro Torinese: RES, 1995), pp. 61-119. On Della Casa's Latin poems see Marco Galdi, 'De latinis Johannis Casae carminibus disputatio', 113-147; Antonio Santosuosso, 'Le opere italiane del Casa e l'edizione principe di quelle latine nei carteggi del British Museum', *La bibliofilia*, 79 (1977), 37-68; Stella Galbiati, *L'esperienza lirica di Giovanni Della Casa*, pp. 1-36; Parenti, 'I carmi latini', pp. 207-40; John B. Van Sickle, 'Introduction', in Giovanni Della Casa, *Poem Book*, ed. by John B. Van Sickle, (Tempe: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999), pp. 1-37; Bausi, 'I carmi latini di Giovanni Della Casa', pp. 233-58; Stefano Carrai, 'Introduzione', in Giovanni Della Casa, *Rime et prose. Latina Monumenta*, ed. by Stefano Carrai (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2006), pp. ix-xxxii; and John B. Van Sickle, 'Della Casa, Giovanni', in *EO*, III, 191-92.

modulated. For this reason, the forms of Della Casa's reception of the Latin author are not merely multifaceted and manifold, but also deep-rooted, momentous, and evocative. The tight bond existing between the two poets is proudly made explicit by the author in his text 'Sunt qui versiculo minutiore', a sort of confession of poetical faith in Horace, who is defined as the best of poets ('optimus poeta', l. 13), and whose mocking of those who write too many verses without paying attention to their poetical quality, displayed in *Sat.* I, 4, is echoed in Della Casa's carmen. Correspondingly, the majority of the texts composed by the Florentine author refer or allude to a Horatian precedent. Despite the innumerable series of quotations of syntagms and hemistiches, it is remarkable to notice that carmen 2, 'Ut capta rediens Helene cum coniuge Troia', is a hexametric epistle of moral content in which the poet suggests, on the basis of *Sat.* II, 3, that the only way to prevent and face the immorality of political ambitions is to abandon the depraved life of the city and retire to the countryside. A sort of concrete counterpart to this precept is modulated in epode 5, 'Humida Tyrrheni fugientem flamina venti', where Della Casa describes his real journey from the enthralling but treacherous Rome to the virtuous city of Venice. In this text, the images and forms of *Sat.* I, 5, the odoeporic satire in which Horace depicted his voyage to Brindisi, are merged together with the moral reasons that motivated the poet to move. Furthermore, the Asclepiadean ode 6, 'Tam caro capiti iam nimium diu', mourning the death of the poet's friend and teacher Ubaldino Bandinello, is shaped in accordance with the features of *Carm.* I, 24, the epicedium to Quintilius Varus. Ode 8, 'Expers consilii, quae pede lubrico', devoted to the theme of the unpredictability of fortune, was composed on the basis of *Carm.* I, 35, as the poet declares in a letter to his friend Astorre Paleotti, even though several features

are also drawn from *Carm.* III, 29. These examples evidence the remarkably deep familiarity that Della Casa shows for the Latin lyricist and the extent to which he relies upon him as a poetic model.

5.5 IMITATION IN THE LATER CINQUECENTO

Della Casa's *carmina* were printed in 1564, almost a decade after his death, by the humanist Pier Vettori in a volume entitled *Latina monimenta* that encompassed his friend's entire Latin production. The publication of a corpus of poems like those by the Florentine author in the mid-1560s might well have appeared to be the vestiges of a faded age, since the great era of humanistic Latin poetry was already coming to an end during the late first half of the sixteenth century. Obviously, Latin prose and poetical works continued to be written after this point, but the main language through which the authors of the Peninsula gave life to new literary tendencies and conducted innovative poetical experiments was the Italian vernacular, as we showed in chapter 4.¹¹⁹ The ever increasing number of anthologies of Neo-Latin verse that were published in Italy from the late 1540s onwards already seemed to have the quality of a retrospective upon a past literary age, since they mainly encompassed the poetical works of dead poets; previous forms of this kind of volume, which had existed since the beginning of the Cinquecento and flourished in the Rome of Leo X, collected texts of living authors who shared a language, a cultural background, and a common aim (which could have been that of paying homage to an eminent person of the

¹¹⁹ See Carlo Dionisotti, *Gli umanisti e il volgare*, Id., 'Il Fortunio e la filologia umanistica', in *Rinascimento europeo e rinascimento veneziano*, ed. by Vittore Branca (Florence: Sansoni, 1967), pp. 11-23; and Id., 'Niccolò Liburnio e la letteratura cortigiana', in *Rinascimento europeo*, pp. 25-43.

time).¹²⁰ Among the earliest and most significant anthologies of Latin *carmina* of the mid-sixteenth century is the 1548 volume entitled *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*, collecting the poetical works of Bembo, Castiglione, Navagero, Cotta, and Flaminio. It is noteworthy that four out of these five authors received and (at least partially) imitated Horace in their works. This anthology, therefore, could be seen as an involuntary acknowledgment of the remarkable fortune of the Latin poet in humanistic literature. It is also not unreasonable to think that Horatian features and forms, which the anthologized poets reproduced in their compositions, could have provided concrete examples of forms of reception of the classical author among a new generation of Italian writers. During the second half of the century, the fortune of Horace in Neo-Latin texts remained pervasive and widespread, even though the majority of these *carmina* were mannerist poems, deriving only the metre or some extrinsic quotations or allusions from Horace. However, there were some exceptions, such as the erudite and refined ode ‘Ad nubes’, written by Lorenzo Frizolio in the 1570s.¹²¹ The text is a hymn, composed in the fourth Asclepiadean strophe, closely following the modes of *Carm.* I, 3 and I, 28; it presents such polished forms that it was for a long time attributed to Torquato Tasso.¹²²

¹²⁰ On sixteenth-century anthologies, see John Sparrow, ‘Renaissance Latin Poetry: some Sixteenth-Century Italian Antologies’, in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 368-404. On the phenomenon at the time of Leo X see Vecce, ‘La filologia’, 206. On its development in Florence see Francesco Bausi, ‘Politica e poesia: il *Lauretum*’, *Interpres*, 6 (1985-86), 214-82.

¹²¹ See Tobias Leuker, ‘Per Lorenzo Frizolio – testo, datazione e prima ricezione dell’ode *Ad Nubes* (con un elenco delle poesie dell’autore)’, *CL*, 161 (2013), 697-724. On Frizolio see Ernesto Mariani, *Cenni intorno a Monsignor Lorenzo Frizolio da Sogliano* (Rimini: Albertini, 1877); and Adamo Brigidi, ‘Cenno bibliografico intorno la vita e le opere di Lorenzo Frizolio da Sogliano, canonico della Cattedrale di Rimini’, *Opuscoli religiosi, letterari e morali*, 54 (November-December 1885), 347-57.

¹²² See Hannu Riikonen, ‘Ad Nubes – The Horatian Ode of Torquato Tasso’, *Turun Yliopiston Julkaisuja-Annales Universitatis Turkuensis*, 156 (1982), 9-39. On the false attribution of the ode to Tasso see Luigi Poma, ‘Apocrifi tassiani’, in *Le tradizioni del testo. Studi di letteratura italiana offerti a Domenico De Robertis*, ed. by Franco Gavazzeni e Guglielmo Gorni (Milan-Naples: Ricciardi, 1993), pp. 201-08.

Along with Frizolio's works, which included several Alcaic, Asclepiadean, and Sapphic texts, many other Horatian imitators composed their Latin texts in the second half of the Cinquecento. In order to show the extent of this literary phenomenon, it is sufficient to remember the works by Girolamo Rubeo from Ravenna;¹²³ the Florentine Sebastiano Sanleolino, historian of Cosimo I de' Medici, whose *carmina* (1572) reproduced some of the Horatian metres and subjects;¹²⁴ the two Neapolitan authors, Bernardino Rota, who wrote two Sapphic poems with a remarkable series of Horatian quotations (1572)¹²⁵ and Bernardino Partenio, among whose three books of *Carmina* (1579) there are several texts in Horatian Epodic, Sapphic, and iambic schemes, as well as some explicit allusions to Horace's odes;¹²⁶ and the two *literati* from Cosenza, Francesco Franchini¹²⁷ and Giovanni Paolo Cesario.¹²⁸ Both show a particular predilection for Horace in their Latin *Carmina*, respectively published in 1554 and 1562. Cesario also devoted himself to a short form of exegesis of the Latin author, following the example of Aulo Giano Parrasio, whose academy in Cosenza both he and Franchini attended. It is remarkable to note that during the second half of the century many poets who imitated Horace in their Latin compositions, as well several men of letters who translated his odes (such as Antonio Tilesio, Tiberio di Tarsia, Cosimo Morelli, all mentioned in chapter 3) or

¹²³ Rubeo's *Carmina* are printed in *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italarum*, ed. by Giovanni Gaetano Bottari and Tommaso Buonaventura, 11 vols (Florence: Giovanni Gaetano Tartini-Sante Franchi, 1719-1726), IX, 93-107.

¹²⁴ *Sebastiani Sanleolinii civis Florentini Ad principes christianos carmina: quibus eos ad bellum a sacri foederis sociis aduersus Turcas communes hostes susceptum ab omnibus unanimiter conficiendum exhortatur [...] Eiusdem Sebastiani in victoriam Naupactiacam, laudemque gloriosissimi Iohannis Austriaci sacrae conspirationis imperatoris ode* (Florence: Giunti, 1572).

¹²⁵ *Berardini Rotae viri patricii Carmina. Nunc tantum ab ipso edita. Elegiarum libri tres. Epigrammatum liber. Sylvarum seu metamorphoseon liber. Naenia, quae nuncupatur Portia* (Naples: Giuseppe Cacchi, 1572).

¹²⁶ *Bernardini Parthenii Spilimbergi Carminum libri III* (Venice: Guerra, 1579).

¹²⁷ *Francisci Franchini Cosentini poemata* (Rome: Giovanni Onorio, 1554).

¹²⁸ *Ioannis Caesarii varia Poemata et orationes* (Venice: Ziletto, 1562).

commented on his production (such as Sertorio Quattromani), came from Cosenza's region or frequented Parrasio's academy. This academy can be considered as a sort of 'spinoff' of Pontano's Academy that Parrasio frequented during his youth. The available evidence shows that the Calabrian cultural centre, therefore, proved to be a prominent cornerstone of Horatian reception in the mid- and late Cinquecento, and was one of the axes through which the Italian fortune of the Latin lyricist was channelled.

As the aforementioned cases prove, throughout the second half of the century there were many poets who imitated the Horatian model, often along the same lines of previous humanists. Nevertheless, their works had a minor significance in terms of far-reaching literary changes in comparison to the innovative poems of the late Quattrocento and the first decades of the Cinquecento. This was only partially due to the fact that mid- and late-sixteenth-century Neo-Latin authors were fewer than before. It was, instead, mainly the result of the mannerist nature of the majority of their works, which lost the poetical innovation, the ground-breaking force, and the literary inspiration of those of the past, because the literary scales already tipped in favour of the vernacular. Therefore, although in the late sixteenth century Neo-Latin literature continued to be practised, albeit with lesser force and intensity, the Italian vernacular laid at the centre of the majority of new literary and cultural activities. Within this panorama the two volumes of Latin verse anthology *Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum*, edited by Giovanni Matteo Toscano and printed in Paris in 1576,¹²⁹ which encompassed the works of more than eighty sixteenth-century poets,

¹²⁹ *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum Iohannes Mathaeus Toscanus conquisivit, recensuit, bonam partem nunc primum publicavit* (Paris: Egide Gorbin, 1576).

appeared to take stock of the Neo-Latin poetical phenomenon of the whole Cinquecento, rather than revitalize it and give it a new impulse.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown how widespread and multifarious the fortune of Horace was in Neo-Latin poetical texts, composed in the late Quattrocento and during the Cinquecento. Thanks to the fifteenth-century developments in philology, the humanists' understanding of ancient prosody and metrics improved and, with it, the understanding and appreciation of the complex Horatian metrical schemes. This allowed their reproduction in new compositions (as the early cases of Gerladini and Cleofilo witness). At the same time, the refinement of the major humanistic centres of the Peninsula (Florence, Naples, Bologna, and Ferrara) furthered the knowledge of classical antiquity and encouraged various forms of imitative practices. The greatest humanists of the time (Poliziano, Pontano, Codro) give interesting proof of receiving many Horatian features in their literary works, but always combining them at different levels with references to other classical authors. Their example was followed by many of their students, who both composed odes in Horatian metres, and dealt with several Horatian topics. Some of them more rigorously followed the model of the Latin lyrist (such as Crinito, Beroaldo the Younger, Ariosto, and partially Sannazaro), while others more often intertwined Horace's example with that of other Latin authors (such as Marullo, Fonzio, Pio, Carbone, Augurelli, and Strozzi).

In terms of Horatian reception, one of the main distinctive points that characterizes these latter poets' generation in comparison to that of their teachers is their approach towards Horace. Mid- and late-Quattrocento poetry was mainly a combinatorial practice where syntagms, expressions and quotations from various models were combined in new forms through witty, inexhaustible, and ingenious arrangements, in which Horace was only considered as one of the literary sources to employ, albeit one of the most refined and authoritative. On the contrary, the poets of the last decade of the fifteenth century and, above all, of the Cinquecento found in Horace's works a clear example of poetical elegance and a unique model in terms of style, as well as metrical and rhetorical features. What is more, he also represented one of the main reference points according to which they could give voice to their moral and biographical concerns, finding an outlet for their feelings. The Latin poet provided a starting point from which to deal with many philosophical reflections that arose in the literary hedonistic culture of the pre-Counter-Reformation Renaissance,¹³⁰ and also offered the poetical means to justify and, at the same time, deal with the desire to leave the sumptuous but wearisome courts in order to retire to solitary places, devote oneself to humanistic pleasures and rejoice in the company of few faithful friends.

These traits became even more evident in the Neo-Latin works composed in the early decades of the sixteenth century, as can be inferred from the poetical production of Bembo, Lampridio, Navagero, Cotta, the Amalteo brothers, and, above all, Della Casa, who, in contrast to the other authors, received the Horatian model in

¹³⁰ On literary hedonism in the Italian Renaissance it is still valid to see Cesare Segre, 'Edonismo linguistico del Cinquecento', in Id., *Lingua, stile e società: studi sulla storia della prosa italiana* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1963), pp. 355-82.

more rigorous forms. Moreover, their works bear witness to the fact that at the beginning of the Cinquecento the Veneto was undoubtedly the most receptive cultural milieu of the whole Italian Peninsula as far as Horatian imitation was concerned. These traits of cultural vitality progressively decreased during the mid and late decades of the century, while their more vibrant features waned, due to the rising literary centrality of the Italian vernacular. This does not mean that new Neo-Latin texts stopped being written, but, in general terms, that an ever increasing series of mannerist forms began to characterize these works, in which Horatian features were either mostly limited to virtuoso metrical imitations, or to forms of stylistic exhibitionism.

CONCLUSION

This study is the first detailed analysis of Renaissance biographers, commentators, translators, and imitators of Horace, taking into account both vernacular and Latin forms. Having charted all these various aspects of Horace's reception in the Italian late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, some broad considerations in this respect will now be offered to complement the conclusions provided at the end of each chapter. All chapters of this thesis have illustrated how widespread, multifaceted, and deep the presence of Horace was in the Italian Peninsula within the chosen chronological confines. We have seen Horace's remarkable pervasiveness in literature, exegesis, and other forms of cultural activity across the entire century and how widespread it was both in the works of so-called major figures (such as Landino, Poliziano, Ariosto, Bembo, Della Casa) and those of minor ones. By considering all such writers in a wide-ranging perspective, we have reached a greater sense of the extensive depth and diffusion of Horace's presence in the Italian Renaissance.

This pervasiveness is first of all evident from a geographical viewpoint. Horace was commented upon, translated, and imitated throughout the sixteenth century in all the main cultural centres of the Peninsula, such as Venice, Florence, Naples, Ferrara, Bologna, and Rome. We have seen that Horace's works first prompted the attention of Florentine, Roman, and Emilian exegetes and men of letters from the 1460s, and then this interest expanded to Naples and Venice. The latter, after Florence lost its

role as the leading cultural centre in the late 1490s, became the primary locus on the Peninsula in terms of flourishing of cultural and literary activities, in general, and of Horatian reception in particular. Indeed, the majority of sixteenth-century commentaries and translations of the Latin poet's texts were produced or printed in Venice, where a flurry of literary Horatian pursuits also took place. All the same, alongside the major centres, Horace was transmitted in a number of provincial settings, in particular towns in the Marche. In Fano and Jesi, the Horatian poets Antonio Geraldini and Francesco Ottavio Cleofilo were educated at the school of Giacomo and Antonio Costanzi, and Giovanni Giorgini conducted his rhetorical and metrical experimentations while translating Horace's *Odes*, respectively. Perugia – where Francesco Coppetta was born, educated, and composed some of his Horatian lyrics – provides another neglected site with a vibrant interest in Horace. In the same city, Jacomo Vicomanno printed his *Traduttione di alquante ode di Horatio Flacco*, and Giovanni Narducci, the editor of the 1605 anthology of translations of Horatian texts, grew up and lived. Of all the minor settings, however, it is Cosenza that has shown itself to be most receptive towards Horace's works. Mainly thanks to the academy founded in the city in 1511 by the philosopher Aulo Giano Parrasio, former pupil of Giovanni Pontano in Naples, and thanks to the Horatian interests of Parrasio himself and those who led the academy after him, Cosenza was a vibrant centre throughout the century and one in which academic studies and literary imitation related to Horace flourished. Indeed, the Accademia Parrasiana, named after its founder, stimulated a significant strand of Horatian interpretive activity by commentators (e.g. Parrasio himself and Giovanni Paolo Cesario), translators (e.g. Sertorio Quattromani, as well as Marc'Antonio Tilesio, Tiberio di Tarsia, Giulio

Cavalcanti, and Cosimo Morelli), and Neo-Latin imitators (e.g. Francesco Franchini and Cesario).

Broadly speaking, two general findings emerge from the material analysed in this thesis. First, throughout the Cinquecento the attention of those who received Horace's works was, as a rule, considerably more focused on the poet's lyrical production rather than on his hexametrical texts. The second, instead, concerns a less extensive cultural phenomenon, but still a highly significant one, since it bears witness to an important aspect of Horace's reception, that is, the response of sixteenth-century readers and writers to Horace's Epicureanism. Both these tendencies can be explained by the following factors. As Giancarlo Mazzacurati has pointed out, the Renaissance is characterized by the presence of cultures in conflict,¹ in which the redefinition of the canon was combined with and motivated by the intention to found a new culture. Horace is deeply implicated in this process since he is taken as one the most important authorities, as it is shown by the fact that all the phenomena that signal a new 'classics' are found in his reception (biographies, commentaries, and translations). Horace entered the new canon because his works were of value in organizing significant facets of Renaissance culture. Indeed, Horace allowed the emergence of an ethical strain to the Renaissance lyric, as well as contributing to the provision of rules for sixteenth-century literary criticism. With regard the latter, the *Art of Poetry* had been throughout the Cinquecento a fundamental text on which to base discussions about new modulations of old literary genres and the formulation of new ones. This work always proved to be functional, even though, as we have seen in chapter 2, its precepts were constantly combined

¹ See Giancarlo Mazzacurati, *Conflitti di culture nel Cinquecento* (Naples: Liguori: 1977).

with those drawn from other authorities: first (until the mid 1540s), with the texts of Cicero and Quintilian, and, then (after the rediscovery of the *Poetics*), with Aristotle and, partially, the works of Latin rhetoricians.

In terms of literary practice, we have seen that, from the beginning of the Cinquecento, Horace was perceived as the alternative authority to Petrarch (with whose texts, however, Horace's own were constantly intertwined throughout the century). If Petrarch represented the lyric pathos, Horace gave voice to the lyric ethos. It is true that Petrarch's *Canzoniere* was also interpreted as a philosophical text in the Renaissance, but its philosophy tended to be linked with the theory of love. Moreover, Alessandro Vellutello's Petrarchan commentary (1525), the sixteenth-century most successful and popular text of its kind, invited readers to mainly see an amatory romance in Petrarch's verses. Horace, on the contrary, offered to lyric poetry an alternative and, above all, larger range of topics and subjects. In this perspective one might read the efforts to disguise or conceal Horace's proximity with Epicureanism as attempts not to damage Horace's reputation as a model. Likewise, the sixteenth-century remarkable concentration on Horace's lyrical works in all genres, including biographies, commentaries, translations, and imitations find some of their explanation in related cultural operations.

This last trend is already observable within Sicco Polenton or Antonio Mancinelli's biographies of Horace, analysed in chapter 1, where Horace is presented as the only lyrical author worth reading. This aesthetic judgement finds an exegetical counterpart in those sections of Mancinelli's biography that discuss the nature and origin of lyric poetry, as well as the models of lyric followed by Horace in

his texts. Similarly, Pietro Crinito and Lilio Gregorio Giraldi's biographical accounts pay more attention to Horace's lyrical production rather than the rest of his corpus. This tendency is even clearer if one focuses on Horace's commentaries (see chapter 2). In this field too, from the publication in 1492 of Mancinelli's commentary, entirely dedicated to Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*, the Renaissance predilection for Horace's lyrical works becomes evident. A powerful testimony is provided by Girolamo Scoto's multiple commentary edition, in which even the sections of pseudo-Acro and Porphyry's commentaries on the *Satires* and *Epistles* are omitted. Furthermore, leaving aside the numerous exegetical works entirely dedicated to the *Art of Poetry*, during the second half of the sixteenth century only very few commentaries took into consideration Horace's *Sermones* and *Epistulae*, while all the others dealt with his *Odes*. A similar trend applies also in the field of Horatian translations. As noted in chapter 3, although sixteenth-century translators rendered Horace's hexametrical texts into the Italian vernacular (e.g., Ludovico Dolce and Giovanni Fabrini), these works were only a small part of a broader series of translations, which were mostly concerned with the *Carmina*. The same tendency pertains to the Latin poet's literary reception, even though, in this case, it is less sharply evident. Indeed, although the material analysed in chapters 4 and 5 bears witness to the major importance of Horace's lyrical production for Renaissance authors, various imitative forms of Horace's *Satires* flourished both in Italian and Neo-Latin literary scenes in the first decades of the century, as seen in the works of Ludovico Ariosto, Luigi Alamanni, Ercole Strozzi, and Ercole Bentivoglio.

The other above-mentioned broad tendency that develops throughout the sixteenth century, is related to the ways Horace is seen as model of ethos opposed to

Petrarch as model of pathos, and it concerns the response of readers and writers to Horace's Epicureanism. As Jill Kraye has observed, the 'Renaissance inherited a long tradition of hostility towards Epicureanism, directed in particular against its denial of the immortality of the soul, its belief that the universe had come into being by chance, and its principle that pleasure was the highest good'.² Horace explicitly referred to the first of these elements in his texts, while he did not openly deal with the others. However, his name was linked with the Epicurean sect among whose followers he explicitly placed himself, as *Epist.* I, 4, 16 testifies. As we have seen, strategies to avoid or re-dimension the poet's relationship to Epicurus are a recurrent feature in Horace's biographers, commentators, and translators, who either present the poet's affiliation to Epicureanism as a juvenile dalliance, or disguise his most direct references to this philosophical doctrine, by connecting them with more reassuring and orthodox backgrounds (emblematic here are, for instance, Dolce and the Jesuits). In a sense, one thus observes the same bowdlerization and Christianization of texts as was witnessed in fifteenth-century (and later) treatments of Plato, or long-standing strategies intended to domesticate Aristotle's notions on the eternity of the world.³ In all these cases, the Renaissance philosophers and *literati* aimed to make more acceptable and less problematic the employment of a classical authority as the reference point for a specific area of the Renaissance new culture.

² Kraye, 'Epicureanism and the Other Hellenistic Philosophies', p. 617.

³ See, at least, Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*; David A. Lines and Jill Kraye, 'Sources for Ethics in the Renaissance: The Expanding Canon', in *Rethinking Virtue, Reforming Society: New Directions in Renaissance Ethics, c.1350 - c.1650*, ed. by David A. Lines and Sabrina Ebbersmeyer (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 29-56; and Jill Kraye, 'Moral Philosophy', in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. by Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 303-86.

A third important phenomenon that we have observed in the dissertation concerns the tendency of several authors to interpret Horace through several different genres. Indeed, although the account in the chapters above has, for the purpose of analysis, grouped various genres together rather than proceeding by author, one needs to remember that several interpreters were adept at writing about Horace through several different kinds of works. For instance, it is worth noticing that, although only two biographers (Dolce and Fabrini) translated Horace's works, the same Fabrini and four other biographers also wrote commentaries on Horace. Those who wrote continuous commentaries upon Horace developed in these texts some features they had already employed in their biographical accounts. Indeed, in their biographies Landino, Mancinelli and Filetico portrayed Horace as a morally irreproachable man and an author worthy of being studied both for his philosophical teachings and his poetical mastery, and these are the main key points that they develop in their commentaries too. Moreover, more than ten exegetes (among whom we find Landino and Mancinelli) decided to imitate Horace's poems in their Latin *carmina*, while only one commentator (Alessandro Piccolomini) dealt with Horace in his vernacular rhymes.

Among the exegetical and imitative works of these authors, though, there are not clear interactions or contaminations. In the case of Landino this probably is due to fact that he composed his Latin poems long before devoting his university pursuits towards Horace. In this case, the only extensive connection that can be traced is Landino's predilection for Horace's odes, shared both by his commentary and his lyrics. No strong interactions can be identified among the commentaries and the imitations of other authors (e.g. Crinito, Pio, Beroaldo, Parrasio, Cesario). In these

cases, this is largely due to the fact that their exegetical activities are restricted to some scattered remarks on Horatian exegetical *cruces*, which are of scarce interest from an imitative point of view. Similar factors help to explain why in Piccolomini, who composed a more thoroughgoing commentary, we also do not find any strong overlap between exegesis and imitation. Indeed, as we have seen in chapter 2, he wrote a commentary ‘per via d’annotationi’, in order to specifically discuss and clarify those passages that other annotators left unclear. His imitations mainly focus upon less controversial Horatian themes and features. Nevertheless, among those commentators that have been considered, only two translated Horace’s texts. One is Giovanni Fabrini, whose work is remarkable since he commented and translated the whole Horatian corpus, while the other is Antonio Tilesio, whose interests for Horace’s *Odes* are echoed both in his exegetical contribution, which is limited to a brief introduction to the *Carmina*, and in his translation of *Carm.* I, 1, published by Narducci in his 1605 anthology.

The vernacular Horatian imitators who translated some of the Latin poet’s texts were relatively few in number. The more important cases are those of Francesco Coppetta and Ludovico Dolce, whose significant works as a translator did not find a counterpart in his Italian production. Indeed, there is no trace – at least known to me – of Dolce’s lyrical Horatian compositions, and his only published vernacular satire, printed in Sansovino’s 1560 anthology *Sette libri di Satire*, is not reliant on his deep familiarity with Horace’s hexametric corpus, since Dolce only incidentally inserts Horatian features in his poem, which is structured largely as a way of lauding Ercole Bentivoglio’s satires. Unlike the vernacular imitators, no author who followed Horace’s model in his Latin rhymes translated Horace’s works.

We have nonetheless seen that several sixteenth-century writers imitated Horace in both their Italian and Latin verse. Their imitative forms in the two languages could partially diverge because of the difference of literary genres to which the works composed in Latin and Italian belong, as the case of Ludovico Ariosto shows with his Latin lyrical verses and vernacular satires. Yet almost all Renaissance authors that dealt with Horace in both Latin and vernacular do not shape their Horatian imitation according to explicitly different traits and modes. It is hence possible to examine together the literary material, encompassed in chapters 4 and 5, and to establish thereby some common features that emerge from the investigations carried out in the thesis. We could divide Horatian forms of imitation into two main categories, textual and thematic, according to the formula proposed by Elisa Curti to which we briefly made reference in chapter 4.⁴ What Curti calls ‘memoria testuale’ refers to all those forms of literary quotations, lexical calques, and syntactic and metrical features derivable from Horace’s texts and that pertain to the formal imitation, whereas ‘memoria tematica’ denotes any recourse to Horatian *topoi*, themes or images. Obviously, these two categories do not imply rigid divisions, nor do they exclude possible overlapping reminiscences, which often occur in the material we have analysed. We could first focus on aspects of Horatian ‘textual memory’, moving from quotation and lexical calque to syntactic imitations, and, finally, to metrical ones. As we have noted, one of the characteristics of humanist and Renaissance poetical practice was the erudite combination of quotations from different classical authorities, placed in a different context to enrich it with ancient works’ calques. Since Horace was one of the most widely used classical literary

⁴ See Curti, ‘Dantismi e memoria della *Commedia* nelle *Stanze* del Poliziano’, 530-68.

sources, citations from his corpus are quite widespread in many sixteenth-century poetical texts. We generally find them in Neo-Latin rhymes, such as those by Landino, Mancinelli, Crinito, Poliziano, Pontano, Codro, Ariosto, Lampridio, Flaminio, Cotta, and Giovan Battista Amalteo. But it is worth mentioning that this dissertation has shown that these forms of ‘textual memory’ are not rare in Italian poems too, as we have seen in the works by Alamanni, Tansillo, Minturno, Rota, Muzio, Massolo, and Della Casa. Although the lexical calque is often the ‘textual’ counterpart of a Horatian thematic imitation in many of the analysed authors, over a third of both Latin and vernacular examples that we have mentioned represent formal short quotations of Horace’s, exclusively meant to embellish the Renaissance texts. As far as the use of syntactic echoes is concerned, we find a similar general picture. Indeed, some Horatian syntactic formulae, such as the ‘non semper’ pattern, are strictly linked to thematic reminiscences – in this case, the topic of the *consolatio* – and poets have recourse to these rhetorical traits while dealing with specific matters. Tasso and Bembo, for instance, precisely interconnect the theme of the *consolatio* and the ‘non semper’ formula; while, according to the Horatian model, Geraldini and Navagero combine the employment of the syntactic structure of the *priamel* and the literary *recusatio* to justify they deal with minor topics (such as love) rather than devoting to epic matters. However, unlike the ‘non semper’ pattern, that of the *priamel* is less rigidly combined with specific Horatian themes. In this case, in fact, the interplay between ‘textual’ and ‘thematic memory’ is less deep, and therefore authors often employed this feature in a vast range of contexts, and not always dealing with Horatian topics. Examples of this trend can be observed mainly in the vernacular rhymes by Tansillo, Rota, Tasso, Minturno, Muzio, Massolo, and Ariosto.

A similar tendency is noticeable also in the field of Horatian metrical imitation. Almost every Renaissance author who followed Horace's example in his Neo-Latin compositions wrote his *carmina* in some of the lyrical or Epodic schemes employed by Horace. In many cases, the metrical imitation provided a 'textual' framework in which to develop Horatian themes and images. However, sixteenth-century poets not infrequently employed Horace's metrics to prove their ability, and yet then dealt in these poems with non-Horatian topics. Examples are legion here. Filelfo, Geraldini, Crinito, Pontano, Sannazaro, Marullo, Carbone, Ercole Strozzi, Lampridio, Flaminio, Navagero, Girolamo Amalteo, Sanleolino, Rota, and Partenio offer instances of this trend with their Latin poems composed following Horace's metrical schemes while treating topics such as Christian hymns, poetical paraphrases of the Psalms, celebrations of their patrons, and love affairs. It is important to notice that something analogous took place also in vernacular poetry, even though obviously in smaller proportions. Those who tried to re-create Horatian odes in their Italian rhymes, such as Tasso, Varchi, and Trivulzio, did not always develop Horatian topics. Some of their vernacular odes thus show us metrical 'textual memories' but no Horatian thematic reminiscences. Similar observation pertain for the 'barbaric' works by Gualterio, Ranieri, Costanzo, and Atanagi, included in Tolomei's 1539 anthology, since these did not deal with Horatian themes even though they represent Italian versions of the Sapphic, Alcaic and Asclepiadean strophes.

In the literary scene of Horatian imitations in Italian works, there is another form of 'textual memory' that needs to be pointed out, and which might be labelled as 'macro-textual' reminiscence since it involves the functions that specific texts have within collections. Indeed, we have seen that Renaissance authors were most

attentive to the construction of their *Canzonieri*, and the selection of texts which opened, closed, or divided them was extremely important, as well as the number of poems and the number of sections in the books of rhymes. Of course, Petrarch's *Canzoniere* is the more common poetic authority here but we have seen that the authors we have examined also made close use of Horace. An especially pertinent example are the one hundred sonnets of Piccolomini's book of rhymes, alluding to Horace's one hundred and three odes included in the *Carmina*, or to the fact Piccolomini again begins, ends, and divides his collection with three rhymes in which he clearly follows Horace's themes and forms. Similarly, Minturno opens his *Canzoniere* alluding to Horatian modes too, and he organizes it in three books, with reference to Horace's first three books of *Odes*, as we have seen in section 4.4.1. Sannazaro opens the second half of his *Rime* with a text referring to *Carm.* IV, 1, and Magno places at the beginning of his poetical collection a short series of rhymes alluding to Horace's topics. Furthermore, Muzio arranges the edition of all his works in accordance to the sequence of those composing Horace's corpus. These examples prove how important Horace's model was to the very structuring of Renaissance *Canzonieri*, a topic that has tended to be neglected in earlier scholarship.

With regard to the category of 'thematic memory', it is possible to offer further subdivisions into Horatian images and themes. As with the 'textual' reminiscences, so too do the 'thematic' ones encompass both the vernacular and Latin materials. It was not unusual for Renaissance authors to refer in their works to specific Horatian images, such as that of poetry *aere perennius*, or that of the *fons Bandusiae*, even though the name of the spring was modified in accordance to the specific Arcadian scenario that the poet wanted to celebrate. Among others, Minturno, Piccolomini,

Magno, Beroaldo and Sannazaro all employed this image in their texts and often associated it with either another ‘thematic memory’, such as that of the theme of the *locus amoenus*, or some lexical calques and quotations from *Carm.* III, 13.

Recalls of Horatian themes draw upon an impressive array of topics, subjects, and topoi, dealt with in the Latin poet’s corpus and re-modulated by Renaissance poets. These themes can be sub-divided in three main areas: love, moral, and philosophical issues, though we must be careful not to make strict separations here, since Horace’s philosophical reflections often overlap with morality, and vice versa. Although Horace was not an authority in Renaissance love poems – a literary field in which the classical models of Ovid and Propertius, and the unavoidable vernacular example of Petrarch were mainly followed – some of the amatory themes he developed were imitated extensively. A prime example is the *fortuna* of Horace’s love poem to Ligurinus (*Carm.* IV, 10), in which the poet invites his beloved not to be coy. This ode was imitated by Bembo, Tansillo, and Minturno in their books of verse. Similarly, Bembo, Sannazaro, Rota, and Magno deal with the theme of *Carm.* IV, 1, which Horace addressed to Venus to whom he in vain asks to be freed from love on account of his age. Another topic that had considerable resonance was that derived from *Carm.* III, 9, the ode to Lydia in which Horace stated he would prefer to live and die with her rather than stay with any other person. This text was not only largely translated, but also imitated by Trivulzio, Trissino, and Venier.

As far as the moral topics are concerned, we have found fewer reminiscences with regard to Horace’s invitation to avoid the *profanum volgus*, to despise both deceitful praises and deceptive fame, as well as to be satisfied with humble and

modest things, and to behave in a virtuous way. There are however some significant examples. Massolo dealt with these topics in his vernacular poems, while Della Casa developed them in both his Latin and Italian production. Among the moral themes, probably the one that had most resonance was that of the *aurea mediocritas*, imitated by the two above-mentioned poets, as well as by Fonzio and Crinito in their *carmina*. Nevertheless, those themes that aroused most interest were the Horatian philosophical subjects, which range from the topic of the unpredictability of fortune, to that of the fleeting passage of time, from the invitation to seize the day, to the praise of poetry, considered as one of the strongest remedies against suffering and as the only force able to defeat death. The first of these four themes was developed by Alamanni, Minturno, Della Casa, Poliziano, Crinito, Pio, the second by Alamanni, Piccolomini, Poliziano, Crinito, Sannazaro, Pio, Giovan Battista Amalteo, Della Casa, and Varchi, the third by Tansillo, Piccolomini, Molino, and Magno, and the fourth by Alamanni, Tasso, Della Casa, and Massolo. The first three themes were very often combined together and the authors that dealt with them also made use of Horatian rhetorical and stylistic features in their rhymes when so doing. Another Horatian theme, which can be considered both as moral and philosophical on the basis of its various implications, is that of the *locus amoenus*. This was imitated quite extensively by sixteenth-century poets, whose private desire both to escape from their public duties, and to retire in the countryside (often to devote to literary pursuits) found expression through this ‘thematic memory’. Of course, the *locus amoenus* is a commonplace and as such cannot be said to derive exclusively from Horace. All the same, the Latin poet presented it in a personal way that many authors, whom we have studied in chapters 4 and 5, followed. Indeed, Horace

enlivens the *locus amoenus* by including in it a few sincere friends with whom to discuss, share and enjoy banquet moments. Moreover he considers it not only as the place where to devote to literary *otia*, but also to find shelter from life's iniquities and sufferings. Exactly as Horace did, the majority of those who followed his version of the *locus amoenus* topos each time privileged some of its specific traits, often combining them with clear Horatian quotations or syntactico-rhetorical forms to highlight their reference to the Latin poet's modulation of the topic. Example of this trend are offered by the poems of Sannazaro, Ariosto, Pontano, Pio, Lampridio, Bembo, Girolamo Amalteo, Della Casa, Minturno, Piccolomini, Magno, and Beroaldo. In short, then, the various forms of textual or thematic memory show us an extraordinarily rich of combinations of Horatian imitative practices, one whose depth and capillarity illustrate how salient Horace's model was for poets, both Latin and vernacular, in sixteenth-century Italy.

Having considered these aspects of Horace's Renaissance imitation and some of the various ways by which they are combined and associated, it is also interesting to observe other forms of intertextuality, and specifically those concerning Horace's relationship and connections with other literary models. With regard to the satirical genre, since the example of Horace was perceived as clearly distinguishable from that of other authors, we find that there were poets who followed exclusively Horace's model. We have seen this most notably in Ludovico Ariosto and Ercole Strozzi. In some other cases Horace's satirical features and modes were combined together with those of other classical satirists, such as Juvenal, in the poems of those authors who did not primarily follow the example of Horace, but wanted to enhance the poetical elaboration of their texts with Horatian references. An example of this

trend is provided by Alamanni's satires, which are largely shaped in accordance to Juvenal's model, but are not infrequently enriched with Horatian elements.

If we turn to the lyrical genre, Horace's model was generally and at various levels combined with many others. This was primarily due to the fact that lyricists could encompass in their productions a vast array of subjects and features, since the lyrical genre was conceived as the literary space where all aspects of feeling could find expression. Therefore it was rather unusual to follow one single model in a lyrical collection of verses. In some cases Horace's corpus was the main (albeit not unique) example in some Latin collections of odes, such as those by Crinito and Della Casa, but it had never been an exclusive model from which sixteenth-century poets derived themes and features in their verses. Nevertheless, it had a central importance since, as maintained above, Horace allowed authors to deal with ethical, moral, and philosophical subjects.

This dissertation has highlighted how the many and varied forms of Horatian reception help us to evaluate the true extent of the sixteenth-century interest in the Latin poet, an interest that reflects of the way Horace was viewed as belonging to sixteenth-century classicism. Within the sixteenth-century conflict of cultures Horace appears as one of the main protagonists of the critical and literary scene. This is evident in the attention that his works received from the point of view of editions, commentaries, and translations respectively, as well as by the fact that his texts were placed at the centre of several literary imitative practices. In this sense, his example offered the Renaissance one important basis upon which to found part of its new culture. In this perspective, the examination of Horace's reception in the Italian

sixteenth century that we have undertaken has not only proved valuable to chart the diffusion and extension of Horace's *fortuna* and the various ways through which his works have been received, examined, and imitated, but this study has also proved fundamental to increase and further our understanding of the Cinquecento, given the fact that Horace can be shown to be a crucial *tessera* within the mosaic of the Italian Renaissance culture.

Fessae date serta carinae

Ovid, *Rem. am.* 811

APPENDIX

The following is a listing of editions of Horace's corpus, commentaries on both Horace's entire production and on his single texts, and exegetical works that include observations on the Latin poet's verses that have later been detached and printed in multiple commentary editions of his works. The appendix exclusively includes published material (composed both in Latin and Italian) and does not take into account any reprint. The entries are listed in chronological order, encompassing a period that goes from the early 1470s to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The large majority of the material was printed in Italy. I have, however, also included few editions published abroad when either they contain exegetical material composed in Italy, or their resonance in the Italian debate (see chapter 2) proved to be highly significant.

1. 1471 *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera* (Venice: Stampatore del Basilius, *De vita solitaria*)
2. 1474 I. *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera*; II. *Acronis Commentatoris egregii in Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini opera expositio incipit*, 2 vols (Milan: Antonio Zarotto)
3. 1474/1475 *Quinti Horatii Flacci Carmina, Epodon, Carmen Saeculare, Art Poetica*, ed. by Giovanni Alvise Toscani (Rome: Bartholomeus Guldinbeck or Vendelinus de Wilda)
4. 1481 *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera* (Treviso: Michele Manzolo)
5. 1482 *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera* (Florence: Antonio di Bartolomeo Miscomini)
6. 1483 *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera* (Venice: Giovanni de Gregoriis)
7. 1486 *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera*, ed. by Alessandro Minuziano (Milan: Antonio Zarotto)

8. 1488 *Philippi Beroaldi annotationes centum* (Bologna: Franciscus sive Plato de Benedictis)
9. 1489 *Angeli Politiani miscellaneorum centuria prima* (Florence: Antonio di Bartolomeo Miscomini)
10. 1490 *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera*, ed. by Giovan Francesco Filomuso (Venice: Giorgio Arrivabene)
11. 1492 *Quinti Horatii Flacci opera* (Venice: Filippo Pinzi)
12. 1499 I. *Sermonum Horatii familiare commentum cum Acronis subtilissima interpretatione*; II. *Epistolarum Horatii familiare commentum cum Acronis subtilissima explanatione*, 2 vols (Lyon: Nicolaus Wolff)
13. 1500 *Erasmi Rotterdami collectanea adagiorum* (Paris: Johann Philippi de Cruzenach)
14. 1501 *Horatius* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio)
15. — *Iacobi a Cruce centum et sexaginta annotationes in varios auctores* (Paris: Josse Bade)
16. 1502 *Oratius* [sic] *recognitus per Philippum Beroaldum* (Bologna: Benedetto di Ettore Faelli)
17. — *Marci Antonii Sabellici annotationes veteres et recentes ex Plinio, Livio et pluribus authoribus* (Venice: Pentius)
18. 1503 *Horatius* (Florence: Giunti)
19. — I. *Horatii odae, carmen epodon et saeculare cum exactissima Antonii Mancinelli et cum familiari Iodoci Badi Ascensii explanatione*; II. *Sermones et epistolae Quinti Flacci Horatii cum familiari et dilucida explanatione Iodoci Badii Ascensii*, 2 vols (Paris: Denys Roce)
20. 1504 *Petri Criniti commentarii de honesta disciplina* (Florence: Giunti)
21. 1505 *Annotationes linguae latinae graecaeque conditae per Ioannem Baptistam Pium Bononiensem* (Bologna: Giovanni Antonio Platonico de Benedictis)
22. 1507 *Epistolarum Horatii familiare commentum a Iodoco Ascensio auctum et recognitum cum Philippi Beroaldi ac Angeli Politiani annotationibus complusculisque nuper a Guidone Morillono coadditis* (Paris: Jean Petit)
23. 1508 *Erasmi Rotterdami adagiorum chiliades* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio)

24. 1509 *Quinti Horatii Flacci poemata, in quibus multa correcta sunt, et institutiones suis locis positae, commentatorium quodammodo uice funguntur. Undeviginti metrorum genera, et quae nam sint et e quibus constant pedibus, et ante volumen simul habentur, et intus in volumine suis locis. Adnotationes nonnullae in toto opere in quibus vel aliquid mutandum ostenditur vel cur mutatum sit ratio redditur* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio)
25. 1511 *Pomponii Gaurici de arte poetica ad Franciscum Puccinum Florentinum* (Rome: Giacomo Mazzocchi)
26. 1514 *Matthaei Bonfinis Asculani in Horatianis operibus centum et quindecim annotationes* (Rome: apud Stefanum Guillereti de Lotharingia et Herculem de Nanis de Bononia socios)
27. 1516 *Quinti Horatii Flacci odarum libri quattuor. Epodii. Carmen Saeculare. Porphyrius, Antonio Mancinello, Ascensio interpretibus. Eiusdem Ars Poetica. Sermonum libri duo. Epistolarum totidem. Ioanne Britannico Brixiano interpretibus. Accedit ad novum interpretem index copiosissimus dictionum fabularum et historiarum omnium quae hisce commentariis insunt* (Venice: Alessandro Paganino)
28. — *Ludovici Caelii Rodigini lectionum antiquarum libri triginta* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio)
29. 1517 *Quinti Horatii Flacci poemata omnia commentantibus Antonio Mancinello, Acrone, Porphyrius, Ioanne Britannico, necnon et Iodoco Badio Ascensio, viris eruditissimis. Centimetrum Marii Servii. Annotationes Aldi Manutii Romani. Ratio mensuum quibus odae tenentur, eodem Aldo auctore. Nicolai Peroti libellus de metris odarum. Annotationes Matthaei Bonfinis Asculani, suis locis insertae, et ad finem ex integro restitutae. Index copiosissimus omnium vocabulorum, quae in toto opere animadversione digna visa sunt* (Venice: Guglielmo de Fontaneto)
30. 1518 *Quinti Horatii Flacci poemata cum commentariis eruditissimorum grammaticorum reconditissimis Antonii Mancinelli Jodoci Badii Ascensii et Ioannis Britannici* (Milan: Giovanni Giacomo da Legnano)
31. 1519 *Quinti Horatii Flacci poemata omnia. Centimetrum Marii Servii. Annotationes Aldi Manutii Romani in Horatium. Ratio mensuum, quibus odae eiusdem poetae tenentur eodem Aldo auctore. Nicolai Peroti libellus eiusdem argumenti* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio)
32. 1525 *Antonii Thylesii Cosentini in odas Horatii Flacci auspicia ad iuventutem romanam* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.])

33. 1531 *Auli Iani Parrhasii Cosentini in Quintii Horatii Flacci artem poeticam commentaria luculentissima, cura et studio Bernardinum Martyranni in lucem asserta* (Naples: Johann Sultzbach)
34. 1533 *Quinti Horatii Flacci poemata omnia studio ac diligentia Henrici Glareani pooetae laureati recognita eiusdem annotationibus illustrata* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Johann Faber)
35. 1535 *In Quinti Horatii Flacci poemata annotationes probatissimorum cultioris literaturae authorum, videlicet: Desideri Erasmi Roterodami. Ludovici Coelii Rhodogini. Angeli Politiani. Marci Antonii Sabellici. Baptistae Pii. Iacobi Bononiensis. Collegit autem eas Georgius Pictorius Villinganus* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Johann Faber)
36. 1541 *Pomponius Gauricus super arte poetica Horatii. Eiusdem legis poeticae epilogus videlicet grecos poetas tamquam dices sequi oportere* (Rome: Valerio and Luigi Dorico)
37. 1543 *Francisci Robortelii Utinensis variorum locorum annotationes tam in graecis quam in latinis authoribus* (Venice: Giovan Battista da Borgofranco Papiense)
38. 1544 *Quinti Horatii Flacci poetae venusini omnia poemata, cum ratione carminum et argumentis ubique insertis interpretibus Acrone, Porphirione, Iano Parrhasito, Antonio Mancinello, necnon Iodoco Badio Ascensio viris eruditissimis. Scoliisque Desideri Erasmi Roterodami, Angeli Politiani, Marci Antonii Sabellici, Ludouici Caelii Rodigini, Baptistae Pii, Petri Criniti, Aldi Manutii, Matthei Bonfinis, et Iacobi Bononiensis nuper adiunctis. His nos praeterea annotationes doctissimorum Antonii Thylessii Consentini, Francisci Robortelli Utinensis, atque Henrici Glareani apprime utiles addidimus. Nicolai Peroti Sipontini libellus de metris odarum. Auctoris Vita ex Petro Crinito Florentino. Quae omnia longe politius, ac diligentius, quam hactenus, excusa in luce prodeunt* (Venice: Girolamo Scoto)
39. 1546 *Francisci Philippi Pedimontii ecphrasis in Horatii Flacci artem poeticam* (Venice: apud Aldi filios)
40. 1548 *Francisci Robortelli Utinensis paraphrasis in librum Horatii qui vulgo de arte poetica ad Pisones inscribitur. Eiusdem explicationes de satyra, de epigrammate, de comoedia, de salibus, de elegia [in:] Francisci Robortelli Utinensis in librum Aristotelis de arte poetica explicationes. Qui ab eodem authore ex manuscriptis libris, multis in locis emendatus fuit, ut iam difficillimus, ac obscurissimus liber a nullo ante declaratus facile ab omnibus possit intellegi* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino)

41. 1550 *Vincentii Madii Brixiani et Bartholomaei Lombardi veronensis in Aristotelis librum de poetica communes explanationes: Madii vero in eundem librum propriae annotationes. Eiusdem de ridiculis: et in Horatii librum de arte poetica interpretatio. In fronte praeterea operis apposita est Lombardi in Aristotelis poeticam praefatio* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisio)
42. — *Quinti Horatii Flacci liber de arte poetica Iacobi Grifoli Lucinianensis interpretatione explicatus. Rhetoricos libros ad Herennium, ad Marcum Tullium Ciceronem nihil omnino pertinere per eundem declaratur* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino)
43. 1553 *In epistulam Quinti Horatii Flacci de arte poetica Iasonis de Nores Ciprii ex quotidianis Tryphonis Gabrielii sermonibus interpretatio. Eiusdem brevis et distincta summa praeceptorum de arte dicendi ex tribus Ciceronis libris de oratore collecta* (Venice: apud Aldii filios)
44. 1554 *Francisci Luisini Utinensis in librum Quinti Horatii Flacci de arte poetica commentarius* (Venice: apud Aldii filios)
45. 1555 *I. Opera Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini, grammaticorum antiquiss. Helenii Acronis, et Porphirionis commentariis illustrata, admixtis interdum Caii Aemilii, Julii Modesti, et Terentii Scauri annotatiunculis; edita auctius et emendatius, quam unquam antea, per Georgium Fabricium Chemnicensem. Ex Diomedis etiam observationibus, indicata in odis carminum genera sunt, et menda in iisdem sublata. Huc quoque accedunt Joannis Hartungi in omnia Horatii opera breves observationes, quibus docet potissimum ubi hic noster graecos imitatus sit. Interpretes reliqui poetae huius, in altero huius voluminis tomo tibi exhibentur. II. Horatiani huius voluminis tomus alter, quo, qui poetae huius opera, sive iustis commentariis, sive succinctis annotationibus illustrarunt, praecipui omnes comprehenduntur quorum nomina sunt, Christophorus Landinus in omnia Horatii opera. Franciscus Luisinus Utinensis in artem poeticam. Iacobus Grifolius Lucinianensis in artem poeticam. Iason de Nores Cyprius in artem poeticam. Erasmi Roterodami Aldi Manutii Ludovici Coelii Angeli Politiani Marci Antonii Coccii Sabellici Joannis Baptistae Pii Bononiensis Iacobi a Cruce Bononiensis Petri Criniti Henrici Loriti Glareani annotationes in Horatii operai, 2 vols* (Basel: Heirich Petri)
46. — *Horatius. Marci Antonii Mureti scholia, Aldi Manutii de metris horatianis, eiusdem annotationes in Horatium* (Venice: Paolo Manuzio)
47. 1561 *Ioannis Baptistae Pignae poetica horatiana. Ad Franciscum Gonzagam cardinalem amplissimum. Cum privilegio illustrissimi senatus Veneti ad decennium* (Venice: Vincenzo Valgrisio)

48. — *Quntius Horatius Flaccus ex fide atquae auctoritate decem librorum manuscriptorum opera Dionysii Lambini Monstroliensis emendatus ab eodemque commentariis copiosissimis illustratus nunc primum in lucem editus* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes)
49. 1562 *Quinti Horatii Flacci liber de arte poetica Iacobi Grifoli Lucinianensis interpretatione explicatus, et nuper recognitus, defensis locis omnibus, quos temere Iason de Nores improbaverat. Rhetoricorum libros ad Herennium, ad Marcum Tullium Ciceronem nihil omnino pertinere per eundem declaratur* (Venice: Giovanni Varisco)
50. 1564 *Horatius, in quo quidem, praeter Marci Antonii Mureti scholia, Iohannis Michaelis Bruti animaduersiones habentur quibus obscuriores plerique loci illustrantur. Aldi Manutii de metris horatianis libellus. Eiusdem in eundem annotationes* (Venice: Paolo Manuzio)
51. 1566 *Commentarius Ioannis Caesarii Consentini in triginta duas Quinti Horatii Flacci odas* (Rome: Vincenzo Lucchini)
52. — *Quinti Horatius Flaccus, ex fide atque auctoritate decem librorum manuscriptorum, opera Dionysii Lambini Monstroliensis emendatus, ab eodemque commentariis copiosiss. illustratus. His adiecimus Iohannis Michaelis Bruti in quatuor libros carminum, atque in librum epodon explicationes. Index rerum, et verborum memorabilium* (Venice: Paolo Manuzio)
53. — *L'opere d'Oratio poeta lirico comentate da Giovanni Fabrini da Figline in lingua vulgare toscana, con ordine, che 'l vulgare è comento del latino, et il latino è comento del vulgare, ambedue le lingue dichiarandosi l'una con l'altra* (Venice: Giovan Battista Sessa)
54. 1567 *Alcuni artifici delle ode di Oratio Flacco; posti in pratica parte da Oratio Toscanella et parte da un bellissimo et dottissimo spirito, che non vuole esser nominato [in:] Quadrivio di Oratio Toscanella, il quale contiene un trattato della strada che si ha da tenere in scrivere istoria, un modo che insegna a scrivere epistole latine et volgari, con l'arte delle cose et delle parole che c'entrano: alcune avvertenze del tesser dialoghi et alcuni artifici delle ode di Oratio Flacco* (Venice: Giovanni Bariletto)
55. 1569 *Quintus Horatius Flaccus ab omni obscoenitate purgatus. Ad usum Gymnasiorum Societatis Iesu. Aldi Manutii de metris horatianis. Eiusdem annotationes in Horatium* (Rome: Vittorio Eliano)
56. 1575 *Quinti Horatii Flacci poemata novis scholiis et argumentis ab Henrico Stephano illustrata. Eiusdem Henrici Stephani diatribae*

de hac sua editione Horatii et variis in eum observationibus
(Geneva: Henri Etienne)

57. 1576 *In Quinti Horatii Flacci Venusini librum de arte poetica Aldi Manutii Paulli filii, Aldi nepotis, commentarius. Ad Bartholomaeum Capram Johannis Francisci filii iureconsultum* (Venice: Aldo Manuzio the Younger)
58. 1578 *Quinti Horatius Flaccus ex antiquissimis undecim libris manuscriptis et schedis aliquot emendatus, et plurimis locis cum commentariis antiquis expurgatus et editus, opera Iohanni Cruquii Messeni* (Antwerp: Christophe Plantin)
59. 1579 *In odem secundam libri quarti carminum Quinti Horatii Flacci commentatio Hugolini Martelli episcopi glandanten. Ad serenissimum Franciscum Mediceum magnum ducem Etruriae* (Florence: Giunti)
60. 1584 *Bernardini Parthenii Spilimbergii in Quinti Horatii Flacci carmina atque epodos commentarii quibus poetae artificium et viad imitationem atque ad poeticam escribendum aperitur. Ad Stephanum Bathori potentissimum Poloniae regem* (Venice: Domenico Nicolini)
61. 1585-88 *Federici Ceruti Veronensis in Quinti Horatii Flacci carmina, epodos, satyras atque epistolas paraphrasis* (Verona: Girolamo Discepolo)
62. 1586 *De laudibus vitae rusticae ode Horatii epodon secunda ab Aldo Manuccio explicata ad perillustrem Iulium Contarerenum Georgii filii patricium Venetum* (Bologna: Alessandro Benacci)
63. 1587 *Quinti Horatii Flacci methodus de arte poetica. Per Nicolaum Colonium exposita, quomodo antehac ab alio nemine* (Bergamo: Comino Ventura)
64. — *Thomae Corraeae in librum de arte poetica Quinti Horatii Flacci explanationes* (Venice: Francesco de Francisci)
65. 1591 *Antonii Riccoboni a quodam viro docto dissensio de epistula Horatii ad Pisones, quam nullam quidem methodum habere, sed ad methodum redigi posse ostenditur. [in:] Compendium artis poeticae Aristotelis ad usum conficiendorum poematum ab Antonio Riccobono ordinatum et quibusdam scholiis explanatum* (Padua: Lorenzo Pasquato)
66. — *Antonii Riccoboni iureconsulti humanitatem in patavino gymnasio profitentis defensor seu pro eius opinione de Horatii epistola ad Pisones in Nicolaum Colonium* (Ferrara: Benedetto Mammarelli)

67. — *Epistola Nicolai Colonii ad Antonium Riccobonum* ([n. p.]: [n. pub.])
68. — *Conciliatio Antonii Riccoboni cum Nicolao Colonio ad illustrissimum et excellentissimum principem Alexandrum Estensem* (Padua: Lorenzo Pasquato)
69. — *Angeli Pagnonii in Quintii Horatii Flacci satyras atque epistolas praefatio, et in primam satyram commentarius* (Bologna: Giovanni Rossi)
70. 1592-93 *I fiori della poesia dichiarati e raccolti da don Marcantonio Mazzone di Miglionico da tutte l'opere di Virgilio, Ovidio et Horatio. Con tre copiosissime tavole, una delle frasi volgari, una delle materie e descrittioni, e l'altra delle similitudini che si veggono ne' poemi d'essi tre eccellentissimi poeti. Ove si ritrovano anco molti bellissimi discorsi da lui fatti ne' luoghi difficili. Et nel fine son quasi tutte quelle figure, che i poeti soglion'usare* (Venice: Francesco de Franceschi)
71. 1611 *Nicolai Colonii responsio adversus absurdissimam sententiam Antonii Riccoboni de Horatii libello ad Pisonem de poetica* (Bergamo: Comino Ventura)

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